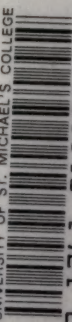


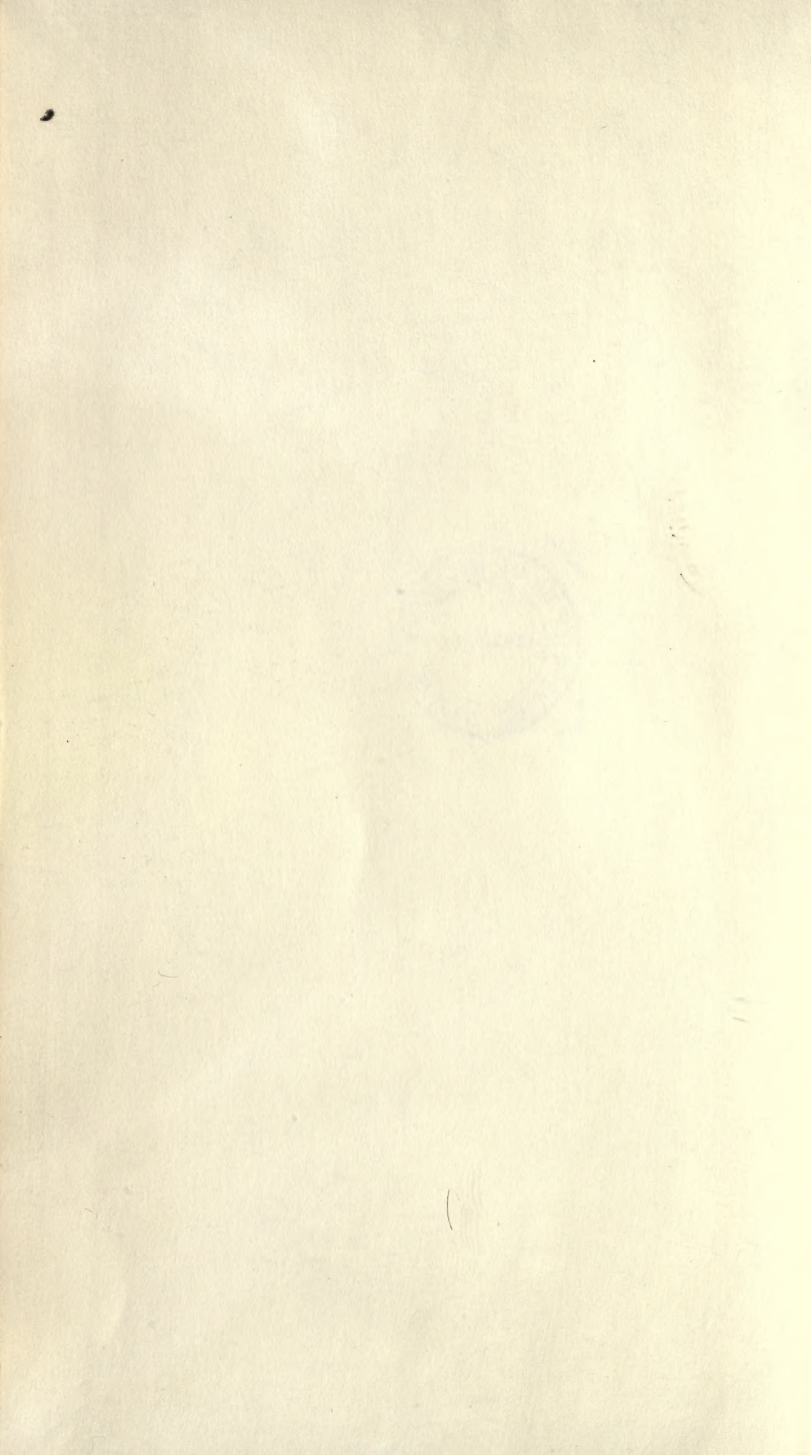
UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



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QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Drawn & Engraved by Henry Meyer.

*From an original Painting in the Collection of
The most Noble The Marquis of Exeter.*

QUEEN ELIZABETH

AND

HER TIMES,

A SERIES OF ORIGINAL LETTERS,

SELECTED FROM THE INEDITED

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY, THE EARL OF LEICESTER,
THE SECRETARIES WALSINGHAM AND SMITH,
SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON,

AND

MOST OF THE DISTINGUISHED PERSONS OF THE PERIOD.

EDITED BY

THOMAS WRIGHT, M. A. F. S. A. &c.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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JUN 25 1956

TO

HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

QUEEN VICTORIA,

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED

BY HER MAJESTY'S

MOST GRACIOUS PERMISSION.

P R E F A C E.

THE object which the editor of the following letters has had in view, was to do for English history, what Bishop Percy did for old English poetry—to give its documents to the public in a popular and amusing form. His design has been not only to make the witnesses of the facts vouch for their truth, but to let those who acted and counselled tell themselves the actions or explain the counsels in which each was engaged throughout the memorable reign of Elizabeth. It was one of those peculiar periods, when every man's character and actions have been so differently viewed by different persons, that it is but fair to let them all speak for themselves ; and in so doing, if he mistake not, they give us a vivid and accurate picture of the times when they lived, for which we may look in vain through the pages of the historian. To the editor himself, the comparison of these letters with one another, bearing always in mind the characters and positions of the writers, has opened many new views of the history of Elizabeth's reign, and he feels confident that most of

his readers will rise from the perusal of them with much clearer notions of the condition of their forefathers nearly three centuries ago, than they had when they began them. History is but imperfectly represented by dry records of facts—to understand fully those facts, we must know not only the character of the people, but the characters of the individuals, their relative feelings, their private and petty jealousies, the social condition of the community in general, even the intimacies of private life; and in no documents are all these painted more lively or more truly than in private correspondence. The editor is so far from wishing the present work to be considered as a dry collection of state papers, that he has studiously interwoven many letters of a lighter character, which apparently have little connexion with history, and he has often turned aside to illustrate literature and domestic life. With this object also, as well as to give a greater diversity of style and sentiment, a varied selection has been made, in preference to the more usual method of illustrating the history of a given period by the successive letters of one man, or of one family.

The reign of Elizabeth may be conveniently divided into three periods. During the first, the enemies of her government and of the Protestant religion laboured by secret conspiracies to undermine both, until they were disconcerted not less by the vigilance of her ministers, than by the fall and imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots, in whose person all their plots centred. In the second period, Elizabeth's foreign enemies were preparing, as their domestic troubles gave them leisure, to crush her by open force, till in the ever-memorable eighty-eight the invincible Armada was defeated by the bravery of her subjects. The third period, though not one

of peace, was one in which the English government was freed from the fear of its enemies, and when the cause of protestantism was triumphant. The first two periods are by far the most interesting, and to them the larger proportion of the following work is dedicated. The correspondence between Cecil and Sir Thomas Smith, the letters of Randolph, Throgmorton, Drury, and Knollys, relating to the affairs of Scotland and the eventful history of Mary, with a variety of others, cannot fail to be popular; and later on, those of the merry Recorder Fletewood give us a curious picture of the state of the lower classes at the period which gave birth to those poor-laws, which have of late years been so much canvassed, and of which, in their first workings, so curious an account is given by Sir Anthony Thorold in our second volume, p. 406. Care has also been taken to collect together most of the letters relating to the defeat of the Spanish Armada. During the third period, in the absence of any suitable documents, either new or interesting, relating to the fall of the Earl of Essex, the editor has felt a true pleasure in tracing the last years of the great minister, Lord Burghley, and his never-failing attachment to the cause of his royal mistress, in a series of letters from himself to his son, which have been placed in his hands by the liberality of the University of Cambridge.

With comparatively but a few exceptions, the letters now published have hitherto remained inedited. In pursuing the plan which the editor proposed to himself, of making a connected history of the reign, it was sometimes not only desirable, but even necessary, to fill up the chain with a letter or two which had been already given to the public; and this was thought the less objectionable, as most of the works from

which they are taken are heavy collections of state papers, inaccessible by their size and rarity to the general reader. Several of Fletewood's letters, and some others also, have been previously printed in the elegant collection of Original Letters by Sir Henry Ellis; but if it were necessary, besides that in a work peculiarly dedicated to the reign to which they belong, they acquire an additional interest by their connexion with those that precede and follow, their reproduction might have been excused, were not such excuses always invidious, by several important errors, that a reference to the original manuscripts has corrected. Few works of this class, or indeed of any other, are totally free from errors, and the editor of the present work wishes that he may experience the same indulgence which he is willing to use towards others.

A considerable number of these letters have been selected from the manuscripts in the British Museum. A few interesting letters, more particularly illustrative of the literary history of this reign, have been derived from private sources. The latter part of the second volume is composed chiefly of the letters from Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, during the last six years of his life, preserved in the Public Library of the University of Cambridge, and endorsed at the end, apparently by Sir Robert himself, "My Lord's last letters that ever he wrote with his owne hande." The last of them has been considered so curious, that it has been thought worthy to be given in a fac-simile.

It was once suggested to the editor, that the orthography of these letters should be modernised; but, after due consideration and advice, this suggestion was rejected for reasons altogether of a literary nature. The orthography of Elizabeth's reign is by no means so far removed from our

own, as to present any difficulties to the most ordinary reader. Had it been modernised, a host of passages, whose beauty is their quaint and antiquated turn of expression must either have been altered, in which case the letters would have lost entirely their character of authenticity, or they would have appeared extremely bare and unsightly. Moreover, there are many words no longer in use, which could not have been modernised, and still more, that were not used in exactly the same sense that they now bear, whose older meaning would have been forgotten in giving them a modern dress. Another difficulty lay in the proper names, which are by no means spelt uniformly, and in some cases the preference of any one spelling to another, might very reasonably be disputed. In fact, the question seems to be that of giving originals of the correspondence, or translations. One liberty the editor has taken with the orthography, which it will be necessary in a few words to explain. In the written monuments of our language, there were two causes of variety of spelling. From the earliest period we know, up to the beginning of the last century, certain letters and certain combinations of letters were always interchangeable, and a given word, though differently spelt, was in none of its forms incorrectly spelt. There was also a gradual changing of forms at different periods of the language, so that in many instances the orthography now adopted would *not* be correct three hundred years ago. All these variations exist in printed books as generally as in manuscripts; but in the latter there was another cause of variation, namely, the ignorance or, more commonly, the inattention of the writer, and the forms of words thus produced are neither more nor less than errors, which by a printer of the age in which they were written

would invariably have been corrected. These errors are naturally common in private correspondence, and there is no reason whatever for retaining them in print. The editor of the following letters has given them as nearly as possible in the orthography which they would have presented had they been *printed* in the reign of Elizabeth, and by so doing, he thinks that, perhaps with the exception of two or three letters at the beginning, they will be read with perfect ease. The peculiarities of dialect have also been preserved—the complaints of Shane Macguire are peculiarly quaint and amusing in his rude Irish brogue, and the elegant wit of George Buchanan is heightened by the broad Scotch in which it is written.

The editor has to acknowledge much aid and advice from two very kind and very learned friends, Mr. Crofton Croker, to whose rich stores and extensive knowledge of Irish history he is indebted for the greatest and most valuable part of the notes to the Irish letters in the first volume, and the Rev. Joseph Hunter, who is no less known for his deep learning in the general and particular history of England, and in its records.

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Engraven on Stone by R. J. Homerton

R. Martin & Co. lith.

The Right Hon^{ble}
WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY.

From the original Painting by Mark Garrard.

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INTRODUCTION.

ELIZABETH succeeded to the crown of England at an extremely critical period, when new feelings, new principles, new interests, were springing up on every side, which promised no small difficulties to, and required no little wisdom and conduct in, the monarch who was called to govern them. On one side the spirit of commercial adventure, the thirst of knowledge and discovery, were every day making amazing advances, and with them were bringing as a matter of course the demand for popular government and free institutions. On another side the stream of reformation, which had long run with a steady and powerful current, after being temporarily dammed up, was ready to break out with a fury that required great prudence to guide it within its banks. Amidst all these changes, the frame of society was itself undergoing an important change. The policy of the Tudors, in breaking the neck of the old feudal aristocracy, had been gradually bringing forward a new class, which has been since known as the 'English gentlemen.' In Scotland, the reformation had advanced even more rapidly than in England, but the power of the king had not been able to break down the old system of clanship, and the consequence was a series of wider divisions, more bitter feuds, and more irreparable

confusion, than had perhaps ever before been witnessed amongst that proverbially turbulent people. In England, Providence had raised men to advise and govern, who were peculiarly fitted for the occasion, and had given them, in the person of a woman, a ruler with that greatness of mind and firmness of character which was able to stifle all those personal jealousies that were tearing in pieces the surrounding nations. The great cause in which they were embarked, that of religious reformation and civil freedom from the degrading despotism of papacy, was to them a link of union which no considerations could break.

There can be no more convincing proof of the greatness of Elizabeth's mind, than the self-humility with which her wisest counsellors bowed to her judgment, and the facility with which all allowed themselves to be ruled. The great Burghley, after a life spent in the closest communion with her, declared in his old age, that "in all graces, by nature, by calling, by long experience, she was of such perfection as none can attain unto;"* and on many occasions, even when her opinion differed from his own, he acknowledges in private his entire confidence in the accuracy of her judgment. Her ministers, who knew the dangers with which she was constantly surrounded, and her consciousness of them, and indeed all her contemporaries, joined in admiration of the calm resignation which she ever manifested. It was, indeed, an extraordinary thing, to see a monarch surrounded on every side by plots and conspiracies, who never concealed herself from the view of her subjects, or shrunk for a moment from her public duties. But the plots which threatened Elizabeth's life were the work of foreign and not of domestic enemies.

Almost the first act of Elizabeth's reign was the establish-

* See his letter to Sir Robert Cecil, vol. ii, 439.

ment of the Protestant religion throughout the realm, which, amid the general disgust that had been raised by the violent proceedings of the Catholics during Mary's reign, caused a universal satisfaction. But abroad, the feeling was very different—the Pope, as the supreme head of the Catholic world, declared the new Queen of England to be illegitimate, and prepared, by what he considered his prescriptive right, to transfer her crown to some worthier member of the church—the King of Spain, equally governed by the hatred of the Protestants, was further instigated by his ambition, but for a time he flattered and courted with the hope of an easier and unobstructed conquest—while the King of France, whose power was already strong in Scotland by the regency of Mary of Guise, looked still further by advancing the claims of Mary Stuart, who was united with the heir of France, to the crown of England. At the same time, the cause of Elizabeth became that of the Protestants throughout Europe, and in the position they were then in, she seemed as one raised up by Heaven for their support. In France, and in the Netherlands, (then an appendage to Spain,) they were already beginning to take courage, and in Scotland the Protestant nobles took up arms with the avowed object, not less of putting down papacy, than of ridding themselves of French interference. At the same time that the domestic dissensions amongst her neighbours delivered Elizabeth from the immediate danger with which her enemies seemed to threaten her, by giving them work at home, they embarrassed extremely her foreign relations; for the resources of her kingdom were so much reduced by the bad government of her predecessors, that she was neither willing nor able to undertake a great war; and at the same time if she left the Protestants in other countries to their fate, she only hastened its approach, while at the same time she allowed the ramparts

which defended her to be overthrown. It was fortunate in these circumstances that she had advisers and ambassadors, who far exceeded those of her enemies in faithfulness, conduct, and honesty, and yet were inferior to none of them in that far-sighted policy, and sometimes even in the deep cunning which the circumstances required. It would have been impossible to discover men more fitted than Randolph, Smith, and Throgmorton, for their missions in Scotland and France, from whence, during the first part of the reign, the greatest dangers impended.

About two months after her accession, the Queen met her first parliament, who were ready to run any lengths in the Protestant cause, and they even needed reining in for their ultra-royalty. "Such," says Cecil, in the beginning of 1563, "be the humours of the Commons house, as they thynk nothing sharp ynough ageynst Papists."* Much has been said, and very injudiciously, on the authority which Elizabeth exercised over the House of Commons. We must not judge of the Lower House in Elizabeth's days either by what it is at present, or by what it was in the days of Charles the Second—its members were chiefly country gentlemen, of little experience in state questions or in parliamentary affairs, who when not in London received the news of the day, but very imperfectly, in the letter of some kind friend, and who were very unfit to exercise a powerful part in the government, particularly in difficult state questions. After reading the account which recorder Fleetwood has left us of the meeting of a new parliament,† we shall not be surprised that the Queen was sometimes obliged to interfere, although her interference was certainly not strictly constitutional; nor

* Vol. i. (of the present work), p. 126.

† See his letter, vol. ii. p. 243.

shall we wonder that men who scarcely knew their own privileges and ceremonies, and whose warmest debates generally turned on the Queen's personal safety, should submit themselves voluntarily to her will, whose very heart's desire, and whose whole conduct, aimed so evidently at the good of her subjects.

The foremost object of parliamentary discussion, during the earlier years of her reign, was the marriage of the Queen. Even her best and nearest counsellors were driven, not less by fear than by hope, to look forward anxiously to a successor, for, with the prospect of a Catholic Queen in the person of Mary Stuart, they all stood on perilous ground. The Queen always evaded the question of marriage, and in doing so she was perhaps longer-sighted than most of her counsellors—at least no one can doubt that she was guided by the most patriotic feelings, who will read her letter to her ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford,* during the negotiations for her marriage with the second Duke of Anjou—a letter so noble and characteristic that it deserves to be imprinted on the memories of all her countrymen. Standing single-handed, with no hollow friendships to deceive, or foreign interests to embarrass, it can hardly be doubted that England weathered the storm more safely, while the jealousies which at that time must have arisen from her marriage with any one of her own nobles were easy to foresee.

During the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign, it was France whose designs required most the jealous attention of the English government. The turbulence of the Protestants in Scotland, which may be well excused by the faithless and treacherous dealings of their opponents, afforded a good excuse for the transporting of French troops to support the au-

* Vol. ii. p. 150.

thority and enforce the decrees of the Regent and the Queen ; but the pompous usurping of the arms of England, their boasting pretensions, and many other circumstances, could leave no doubt either of the ulterior views of France, or that Mary Stuart was not only a willing, but a zealous instrument in the hands of the Catholics. Elizabeth was slow to intermeddle, and remained long undecided, until the pressing instances of her counsellors determined her to act vigorously, and the surrender of Leith and the treaty of Edinburgh, together with the death of the Queen-mother, drove the French from Scotland. The death of Mary's husband, the King of France, cut off many of the ambitious projects of his house ; but still Mary was the instrument of the Catholics, and the French were unwilling to lose the influence in Scotland which the marriage of James with Mary of Guise had given them.

While still young, Mary Stuart showed that she possessed that deep and treacherous dissimulation and political cunning which were the distinguishing virtues of the house of Guise, and that she was by no means destitute of many qualities which were necessary to a monarch. Throgmorton's account, of Mary's behaviour after the death of her first husband,* must be understood in this sense. There could be no greater evidence of her sinister designs against Elizabeth, than her refusal to sign the pacification of Edinburgh, against all faith and reason. On the death of her husband, she was persuaded by the Catholic party, who expected that she would now be able to serve them best at home, to repair to Scotland, and there her first beginning promised nothing but peace and tranquillity. But even then there were not wanting those who saw beneath her fair pretences, the promises of approaching confusion.

* Vol. i. p. 58.

There can be no doubt that the greatest minister of the reign of Elizabeth was Lord Burghley, at the period of which we are now speaking known simply as Sir William Cecil, but there was another who bore at the beginning of the reign a very prominent part. Amongst all the undeserved accusations which have been from time to time lavished upon Elizabeth's ministers, no one has been so unsparingly slandered as the Earl of Leicester, at this time known as Lord Robert Dudley. It is by no means in favour of his accusers, that almost the sole authority for these slanders is found to be popish libels, and that those same libels contain attacks equally gross upon the most upright of his contemporaries. Documentary evidence of the most convincing nature has proved the falsehood of most of the accusations which have been brought forward against the Earl of Leicester. A letter printed in our present collection* affords a nearly perfect confutation of the story of the murder of his own wife, and another absolves him from all concern in the death of the Earl of Essex.† Sharon Turner, who is inclined to vindicate his character, has an obscure notion that Leicester designedly let his character be involved in mystery, which we can only interpret as meaning that in his particular case, when he has not left to posterity a statement of his reasons for everything he did, we have a right to think the worst; for there is no more mystery shed over his character than over that of any of his contemporaries, and we see no reason for believing with the same author that he was first in secret correspondence with the Papists, and afterwards incurred their hatred by deserting them.‡ His own letters, as well as

* Vol. ii. p. 46. † Vol. ii. p. 35.

‡ Sharon Turner seems to be rather in fault in one of his observations on Leicester's character. He assumes his secret inclination to favour Mary and the Catholics, because Sir James Melvil asserts that

the private letters of his contemporaries, even of those who were not reputed his friends, give us by no means a bad view of his character, and his own actions proved that he was not wanting in the qualifications of a statesman. Had it been otherwise, the letter of Lord North to Burghley, on Leicester's death*—to Burghley who, we are told, despised his person and knew all his crimes—must have been felt as a piece of bare-faced mockery. Neither is it at all consistent with Elizabeth's character, whose temporary displeasure he frequently incurred, that she would have supported to the last one who is represented as having been both a fool and a rogue. As their unflinching opponent, he was hated by the Catholics—as an early favourite, he incurred the jealousy of many of the courtiers, and his character seems to have been sometimes lowered by an ambition which could condescend to petty intrigues.

So long as there were any hopes that Queen Elizabeth would marry an English nobleman, all eyes were turned upon the Lord Robert Dudley, but the Queen herself did not allow such hopes to be entertained long. After the arrival of Queen Mary in Scotland, it became necessary to seek a husband for her, and Elizabeth and the Scottish Protestants were equally desirous of the promotion of the Lord Robert, now created Earl of Leicester, to that honour, as the person most

he was her friend, and because Cecil has noted that in 1565, Leicester and the Earl of Pembroke were in disgrace for their participation in an attempt to have the succession declared by parliament. Now if we bear in mind that any declaration of the parliament must, from their known sentiments, have been against Mary, it will at once be seen that the one of these assertions goes far towards contradicting the other, and indeed there are many reasons for thinking that Melvil's diary, like many other similar productions, is full of falsehood and misrepresentation. It is very necessary to ascertain the value and bearing of our documents before we use them.

* Vol. ii. p. 393.

likely to hold her steady to her first professions of moderation, and to watch over the interests of England and the Protestants. Leicester seems never to have been very anxious for the match, and it is probable that he was sufficiently far-sighted to foresee the probable results. But Mary soon disappointed both her enemies and her friends. The person in whom the Pope and the Catholics placed their hopes, overthrew herself and her cause, by giving the rein to her gross passions and wicked propensities. After a short reign, a scene of bloodshed and the most disgusting crimes, Mary was deposed and imprisoned by her own subjects, escaped, was defeated, fled from her country, and became a prisoner in England.

The foreign relations of Elizabeth, during the earlier years of her reign, were singularly complicated. England was neither at peace nor at war with her neighbours, or rather at both. It was her neighbours, however, who by their own management, that they might be enabled at a moment, without preliminary negociating, to bring force to support the plots which they were brewing, placed her in this extraordinary position, which, under the circumstances, was not disadvantageous to her; and the scandalous conduct of the foreign ambassadors at her court gave her a ready cause to break with them when she pleased. The crooked policy of her enemies sought to accomplish their ends by means which did not allow them to declare themselves openly, and her subjects were becoming experienced soldiers in the ranks of the Protestants of France and Holland, whilst her privateers were destroying the commerce which was the strong sinew of the Spanish power, although both those nations pretended to be on terms of the greatest amity.

The vain pride of the Spaniard was singularly deceived and humbled in his dealings with Elizabeth. King Philip

and his ministers from the first undervalued the people they had to deal with—mixed with their boasts of their own power, we hear nothing but the unwarlike character of the English, their want of money, arms, and resources, and, above all, their dissatisfaction with the Protestant government. The advantage which the French had obtained by their connexion with Scotland was, however, to Philip an obstacle which was very embarrassing ; for though he professed to be hearty in the same cause as the French King, yet he had no desire to share with him a prey which he believed he might easily acquire for himself. Hence he followed a system of cross-purposes with the French, did all he could to flatter and cajole Elizabeth and her ministers, who were not deceived by him, employed his ambassador in corrupting her subjects, and prepared to seize upon the first opportunity to aid an insurrection, hoping thereby to prevent the designs of his neighbour.

In the mean time, the few nobles and other persons of weight in England, who were disaffected to the government, were practising at the same time with France and Spain ; but they were more willing to receive a Catholic Queen in the person of Mary Stuart, than to throw themselves into the hands of the Spaniards. After Mary's imprisonment, the French were not less disconcerted by her position, than by her whole conduct, which showed that she was more like to throw disgrace upon their measures, than to give them any hopes of success ; and the King had so far laid aside his immediate designs against Elizabeth, as to attempt a league with the Protestant Lords. The Spaniards now thought their time was arrived, and the numerous plots which were discovered and suppressed during the two or three following years show the activity of their agents. The Pope himself, under favour of whose declarations against Elizabeth all

these sinister designs were hatched, now launched forth his bull which absolved her subjects from their allegiance.

The letters of Throgmorton and Knollys show us how unexpected and how embarrassing to the English government was the sudden arrival of Mary in England. To have the chosen instrument of her enemies in her own power, was a thing which Elizabeth had never contemplated, and even the puritan Knollys was at first of opinion to let her go. But after-counsels produced different and more prudent resolutions; for Throgmorton's negotiations in her favour had clearly shown, that if she returned to Scotland, the only result must have been a renewal of the troubles, and probably her own death; and her own vindictive temper and open threats made it evident, that if Elizabeth sent her to France she would only be placing a dangerous weapon in the hands of her enemies. She was first put under restraint at Carlisle, was next carried to Bolton, and was afterwards removed for safer keeping to Tutbury. Trusting that the Scottish Lords would not have dared so far to commit themselves as to press their accusations to the utmost, she agreed to have her cause tried by a commission, and there she was disconcerted by the proofs of her guilt which were produced. This, and her own desperate designs and intrigues, soon gave sufficient cause for her closer imprisonment; even her foreign friends could no longer make any excuse for her, or have the face to desire her liberty: her own minister, the Bishop of Ross, gave evidence against her,* and at last her own son declared, by his ambassador, that he "would gladely wysh that all foraine princes should know how evil she had usit herself towards the Quene's Majestie there."†

The disaffected at home were greatly disappointed by the imprisonment of the Scottish Queen, and in their zeal were

* Vol. i. p. 399.

† Vol. ii. p. 315.

led to break out into partial insurrections, which only tended to call attention to the more extensive conspiracies of Elizabeth's enemies. The two principal Catholic nobles were the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. The former had made an attempt, on the first news of Mary's arrival in England, to obtain possession of her person ; and by this and other acts having drawn upon himself the suspicions of the Queen and her government, in the latter end of 1569 the two Earls raised what appeared at first to promise a formidable rebellion.

The northern rebellion of 1569 has not been fairly represented by historians. To understand the ease with which it was stirred up, as well as the little difficulty with which it was put down, we must carry in mind a circumstance which appears not to have received a due consideration. It is true that the people of the north of England were then in a state of greater ignorance, and more inclined to popery, than those of the midland and southern parts ; but this was not all, there still remained in those parts a much greater feeling of clanship than in any other part of England. If we examine into the history of the different families who took a part in the rebellion, we shall find that, perhaps without an exception, they were all allied by blood or intermarriage with the two families of the Percies and Neviles, and the cause with which chiefly they identified themselves was that of the Earls who had called them into the field. But times were changed since the feudal barons reigned absolutely within their boundaries : they were obliged to force into the field a peasantry who no longer went thither as willing vassals ; and the rich gentlemen, who were now seated in the very heart of their old feudal domains, the Boweses, and the Forsters, and others, raised men to oppose them, and gave them sufficient work, until Sussex approached with the eager

and faithful troops from the south, and the rebel army dispersed before his arrival. The intention of the northern Earls was to have stirred up the nobility to strike a blow to regain their former power, but what would have answered under Henry the Sixth could not be brought to pass in the reign of Elizabeth.

The suppression of this insurrection, and the discovery of other plots, brought to light the full extent of the Spanish intrigues. It was soon found that the Spaniards were privy to the designs of the rebels, and that the Duke of Alva was prepared to land a body of Spanish troops to their aid, if he had seen a favourable opportunity—there had even been sent to London privately a general who was to take their command. Shortly after the northern rebellion, it was discovered that the Duke of Norfolk also had been engaged in dark conspiracies with the foreign enemies of England, and he paid for his treasons with his life. Whilst he was in prison, a petty insurrection was prevented in Norfolk, and the conspirators avowed that they were encouraged by the Duke of Alva, who was to have sent some Spanish troops to Yarmouth.* The execution of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Northumberland, with the flight of the Earl of Westmoreland, and the discovery of their secret intrigues, damped the courage of the Spaniards for a time, and soon after they found employment enough in making head against the Protestant party in the Netherlands, who had been rendered strong by the insupportable tyranny of the Duke of Alva, and who were now secretly backed by Elizabeth.

The reigns of Mary Stuart and her son were the most disgraceful period of Scottish history. It would be difficult to point out any of the men in power who were not governed by

* Vol. i. pp. 372, 373.

the worst passions and feelings, if we except the Earl of Murray, who was elected Regent after Mary's flight, and who fell a sacrifice to the same secret plots which aimed at the lives of Elizabeth and Cecil. Murray's successors all fell sacrifices to domestic feuds, until at last James himself assumed the reins of government. After Mary's imprisonment, the struggle between France and England for superiority in the Scottish counsels was chiefly a money affair, for most of the nobles were willing to sell themselves to the best bidder, except that, on account of her Protestant principles, the Protestants were always willing to offer the cheapest bargain to the Queen of England. But it was a matter so essential to her safety to keep out foreign influence from what one of her ministers called the back-door of her kingdom, that she was sometimes obliged to support her own party in Scotland against the turbulence of their rivals by an armed interference. Such was the case when Kirkaldy and Lethington, in their hatred to the Regent Morton, joined themselves in the intrigues then carried on by Mary and the house of Guise, and held out the castle of Edinburgh against the government.

Elizabeth reaped great advantages from the jealousies of her two chief enemies, the French and the Spaniards. The dishonest behaviour of the latter with regard to Calais, and the temporary occupation of Havre by the English, held the mutual relations of the two kingdoms in a very uncertain and critical posture, until a peace was concluded in 1564. The repeated hopes of a French marriage drew still nearer the links of amity between that country and England, although the Queen never ceased to give assistance to the Huguenots, for the civil wars in France were rather the struggles of two great parties, over neither of which the king held absolute control, than the rebellion of the subjects against the govern-

ment; and the aid which Elizabeth lent to the Protestants became by degrees an interference to overthrow a Spanish party in the state, just as at the beginning of her reign she had been obliged to drive the French out of Scotland. The cause of the Protestants was strengthened, rather than hurt, by the treacherous cruelty of the Duke of Alva and the massacre of St. Bartholomew; for these savage measures, more than anything else, opened the eyes of the Queen of England to her own danger.

In the meantime, both the Spaniards and the French continued their secret plots against Elizabeth, and carried on all their designs in conjunction with Mary Stuart, who was, at the same time, making treacherous offers and professions with the hope of obtaining her liberty, until the final discovery of Babington's conspiracy led to the resolution to bring Mary herself to her trial. The evidence against her was convincing beyond all room for controversy, and her plea of being an independent princess of a foreign country being overruled by the opinion of the lawyers, that every one residing in a country is amenable to the laws of that country for all crimes committed within it, she was condemned by the unanimous sentence of the most respectable court that ever sat in judgment.* The condemnation of Mary spread an universal joy throughout the kingdom, for her cause was anything but popular amongst her contemporaries, and there were few who did not see and feel the dangers which hung over the state from the wicked courses she had followed. The French ambassador Mauvissière, in a passage of one of his despatches which has been more than once quoted, relates how at this time on one occasion, "when Elizabeth appeared in public, whole crowds of people fell on their knees as she passed, prayed in various ways, invoked upon her a thousand bless-

* See the account given by Walsingham, vol. ii. p. 319, 320.

ings, and hoped that all her wicked enemies might be discovered and punished. She often stopped, and returned thanks for all this love. When I was alone with her, as she rode on a good horse amidst all this crowd, she said to me, ‘ You see that all do not wish me ill.’ ” Every one knows how Mary was at last executed, without the knowledge of Elizabeth. There is perhaps in all history no greater moral lesson than that furnished by the history of these two queens—the one, ascending the throne with the good-will of her own subjects, and supported by the Pope and the most powerful nations in Europe, lost her crown by her own crimes and vices, threw disgrace on the cause which she was expected to have made victorious, dragged on a large portion of her life in a prison, and ended it on a scaffold ; while the other, surrounded on every side by the bitterest enemies, with none but God and her own comparatively weak resources to depend upon, by her virtues and prudence raised her kingdom to a high state of glory, made her subjects rich and happy, and lived to see all the schemes of her enemies broken.

During her earlier years, Elizabeth had shown a much greater degree of caution than was agreeable to the zeal of her ministers. It was not without extreme reluctance that she was persuaded either to interfere in Scotland, or to aid the persecuted Netherlanders : the latter sent several deputations to England, which were all received with kindness, and the Queen expressed her hearty condolence in their sufferings ; but the aid which they received from her was confined to loans of money and to a few volunteers, who now flocked over to exercise feats of arms under the banner of the Protestants. After the murder of the Prince of Orange, the Dutch Protestants became every day more pressing in their prayers : they offered themselves as subjects to the Queen of England, and, being refused, they accepted the Duke of An-

you as governor, and were near throwing themselves entirely into the hands of France. But they soon found the support they sought in that quarter was no better than a broken reed, and finally, in 1585, Elizabeth resolved to take them under her protection.

The person chosen to conduct the English forces to the aid of the Netherlanders, was the Earl of Leicester. A few towns, which were immediately garrisoned with English troops, were given into Elizabeth's hands as security for the full performance of all the articles of the treaty. In spite of all that has been said against Leicester, his despatches, the testimony of other contemporary documents, and the opinions of Cecil, Walsingham, &c., strongly expressed in their letters, prove that he showed both conduct and ability in the charge which he had undertaken. He landed in Holland towards the end of 1585, amidst the universal joy of the Protestants. He found, at his first entry on his charge, that it was absolutely necessary for him to accept, what was freely offered him, the government of the country ; * and his opinion was fortified by that of the English ministers ; but the Queen, who had so indignantly expressed her unwillingness that the government should be assumed by another, † was equally dissatisfied at its being assumed by one of her own subjects, and the offence was increased by his having taken the government precipitately, before he had advertised her of his intention. It was not till after several weeks that she allowed herself to be pacified, or was reconciled, by the representations of her counsellors, with the Earl's proceedings.

The Earl of Leicester's enterprise in Holland was quite as well conducted, and as efficient in its results, as was ever a similar undertaking. The chivalrous bravery of the English soldiers filled even their enemies with admiration. Their

* Vol. ii. p. 277.

+ Vol. ii. p. 150.

deeds before Zutphen remind us of the exploits of Homer's heroes before Troy. But in this, as in all other revolutionary wars, there had been already sown too much discontent and jealousy, and there was too little inclination to submit at once to good government, to allow the new ruler to sleep on a bed of roses. Without exerting rigorously the authority which they had given him, it was impossible to pursue with success his schemes against the common enemy, and by many the exertion of that authority was looked upon as mere tyranny; so that in about a year after he had taken up the government, Leicester returned to England, with very little satisfaction of either party. He returned thither the following year, at the desire of the States themselves; but, stinted in his resources, and thwarted by the growing jealousies, he effected little, and returned to England to take a part in still more important events which were approaching at home. That Leicester was not unpopular in Holland appears from the increase of his party after his final departure. The great cause of the uneasiness of his government was evidently the difficulty of making the States raise constantly their share or money to defray the expenses of the war, and the unwillingness of the Queen to supply more than the share which had been stipulated.

There can be no doubt that long before Leicester's expedition to Holland, the Spaniards only waited for the reduction or extermination of their Protestant subjects there, to make war upon England. It was not long after his assumption of the government that flying and uncertain rumours began to reach England of vast preparations throughout Spain and Italy proportionate to some great undertaking: for nearly two years these rumours were continually increasing, yet they gained little permanent credit either with Elizabeth or her ministers. Towards the end of 1587, however, there

was no longer any doubt left of the greatness of the Spanish preparations, and of their being nearly ready to proceed to their destination; and the reports were more constant that they were intended for the invasion of England. The Duke of Parma had opened a treacherous negociation for peace, but his professions never deceived the experienced eyes of Walsingham;* and the position in which he was gradually placing his own army, and the preparations he had made for their embarkation, all showed the side from which the danger was to be apprehended. During the winter the English fleet kept watch at sea, and the Queen was busily engaged in raising money, and in making preparations for defence; the recusants were put under restraint, and a general appeal was made to the whole kingdom. The spring passed, and people's minds were still divided between hopes and fears, when in the month of June certain intelligence arrived that the Spanish Armada was at sea. After a temporary check from the weather, in the latter end of July this vast and long-expected armament appeared on the English coast, shaping its course towards the narrow seas, to form a junction with the Duke of Parma. It is not necessary to repeat here the desperate combats which it sustained with the English ships, far inferior in force, but invincible in courage,† until at last the whole Armada was, to use Drake's own expression,‡ fired out of the road of Calais, and scattered towards the north. That they had been roughly used, we may be assured by the assertion of Drake, that they had lost not less than five thousand men, and that there was scarcely a ship left uninjured;§ and by the report of the brave Lord Admiral Howard, that their number of sail, at first estimated at about 150, were reduced to 86.¶ The English fleet, having expended their

* Vol. ii. p. 354.

† Vol. ii. p. 390.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 390, and p. 385.

§ Vol. ii. p. 384.

ammunition, were obliged to give up the pursuit, and returned to the Downs to take in a new supply, with the hope that they might still lay hold of the Duke of Parma, who, "like a lion deprived of his whelps," to use again an expression of Drake's,* vented his disappointment in empty threats that he would ship what troops he had, and set out alone to the conquest of England. When the peril was most imminent, and the musters had been raised, the Queen, who, with a true motherly love, had always avoided war, because she would not willingly expose the lives of the lowest of her people,† placed herself confidently at their head, and, to use the expression of the Earl of Leicester, "so enflamed the harts of her good subjects, as I think the weakest person amongst them is able to match the proudest Spaniard that dares land in England."‡ On the return of the fleet, she was so sensible of the entire defeat of her enemies, that she immediately gave orders for disbanding her army. The Dutch, as we know, in the excess of their joy, struck triumphal medals in commemoration of this signal victory. It was, indeed, a blow from which Spain has never recovered.

After the defeat of the great Armada, the vicissitudes of Elizabeth's reign are not many, and the history might be summed up in a few words. Scotland, in spite of an attempt to raise a Spanish party, remained comparatively quiet. In the Netherlands, though the success of the Protestant cause could be no longer doubtful, there was still carried on a harassing warfare. The King of Navarre became King of France, and was aided by Elizabeth against the League and the Spaniard. In England, the great men, who by their courage and talents had carried England through so many dangers, as though they had lived long enough after they had conducted the vessel in safety to its port, dropped off in the midst of their

* Vol. ii. p. 389.

† Vol. ii. p. 300.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 391.

glory. Leicester died immediately after the defeat of the Armada; Walsingham did not survive that event many months; and, ten years after, the great and virtuous Burghley, after employing the efforts of his last years in striving to effect an universal peace, gave up his soul to heaven, while the care of "God's church on earth," and his country's welfare, still hung heavy upon his aged brow.

On the accession of Elizabeth, the government and creed of the church was established with the most admirable wisdom and moderation. But from the first, the change of religion was proceeding in the minds of many persons under a diversity of feelings, and with very different principles and objects. The moderate party, at the head of whom were the Queen and Cecil, with the great Archbishop Parker and the prelates, were for a reformation, in which the old religion and ecclesiastical government should be purged of all their objectionable ceremonies and doctrines, without being blindly rejected. But there were others, excited either by the mere love of innovation, or by the hatred which the unjustifiable cruelties of the Catholics during the short reign of Mary had been too well calculated to raise, whose views of church government by no means coincided with those of the government. When the Catholics had during Mary's reign exulted on what they believed to be an entire and decisive triumph over the reformation in England, Cecil had been heard to express his fears of a violent revolution, by the breaking out of the stifled zeal of the other party, as a thing more to be apprehended than the permanent establishment of papacy. On the accession of Elizabeth, the populace accordingly rushed to the churches to destroy the altars and the utensils and insignia of Popish worship, and it required the utmost efforts and vigilance to prevent the same scenes of destruction as had been witnessed in Scotland. The puritan

party soon became powerful throughout the kingdom, for it spread through all ranks: in the universities and in the church itself there were numbers who exclaimed against the institutions of bishops, against the ecclesiastical authority of the sovereign, against forms and ceremonies, against robes and surplices, and who thirsted after such a reformation as had been brought about in Scotland by the rigid zeal of the Calvinists; and they had advocates amongst the nobility, and in the court, in such persons as Leicester, Knollys, Randolph, and Sir Walter Mildmay. Among the inedited letters of Knollys, we find the most zealous expressions of dislike to the church-government as then established, and particularly to what he considered to be the overbearing conduct of the bishops, in their zeal to support the church. But it cannot be denied that the extreme opinions advocated by the Puritans tended to overthrow all government, and to breed confusion both in church and state, so that it soon became necessary to restrain them, even by penal statutes. It was even found, in some cases, that the Jesuit missionaries were employed in spreading puritan doctrines, in the hopes that the religious differences which seemed ready to break out would end in the overthrow of the general cause.

The position of Elizabeth and her ministers was somewhat difficult. As she was at the same time obliged to be at war and at peace with the same nations, so was she compelled in one place to persecute the very sectaries whom in another she was supporting with money and arms. The reformation, whether in England, in Scotland, in France, or in Germany, was one great cause; and, as being a cause in danger, and exposed collectively to the hatred of the Catholics, its enemies, it was necessary to support it as a whole without any consideration of difference of opinion on minor points. But the disciples of John Knox in Scotland, the Huguenots in France,

and the Protestants of the Netherlands, all professed violent doctrines on the subject of church government, which were totally at variance with those held in England. When the Dutch and the French fled from the cruelty of their persecutors, they were received in England with open arms; but they were not long content to rest quietly in the asylum which had so generously been afforded them: they occupied themselves zealously in spreading new doctrines, in raising dissatisfaction against the church and the bishops, in bringing in Families of Love, and the other sects who abounded in Germany, and in translating and spreading books which, when considered in their tendency, were often of a most seditious character. It thus became necessary by degrees to place the refugees under a strict surveillance, and not unfrequently to imprison or banish them. The Puritans, and the Papists also, though the latter by their own conduct were deprived of the right of complaint, insisted upon their claim to freedom of opinion and sentiment; but it was not the simple difference of doctrine which drew upon them the severity of the law—it was the tendency of the opinions of the one party, and the designs of the other, which soon became treasonable. The distinction made by the government was perfectly just and accurate; when charged with persecuting the Papists, they represented that such as suffered were in no instance executed as *Catholics*, but as *traitors*—their crime was not difference of religion, but treason against the state.

In England, the Puritans gained strength amid the efforts which were made to suppress them: through the two reigns which followed that of Elizabeth they were pushed forward by the multifarious errors of the civil power, until in the violent concussion which overthrew the regal government, they took the power into their own hands, and then, self-murdered, they perished in the attempt to put in practice their

visionary notions of the form of Christ's kingdom upon earth.

Lord Burghley left behind him an able successor in the person of his son, Sir Robert Cecil ; but his last years must have been somewhat embittered by the prospect of the evils which were threatened by the turbulence of young spirits, who were rising around him, and who took a pride in contradicting the sage advice of those who had seen more experience than themselves. The character of Robert Earl of Essex has too often been clothed in false colours. His chivalrous bravery and his lavish expenditure obtained him that kind of vulgar popularity after which he thirsted ; but he was brave without conduct or wisdom, jealous of his companions, selfish in his feelings, because he sacrificed all public considerations to the gratification of his own ambition and revenge. His gratitude to his Queen, who had cherished him as a mother would her child, was shown in raising up a party to thwart the measures of her wise and faithful counsellors. His services to his country, of which he made a boast, were chiefly done in a series of almost piratical depredations, which were certainly useful in checking the power of the Spaniard, but which he pursued for the popularity they gave him among the *people*, and to continue which he would have opposed the most beneficial peace. We may pity the rebel who thinks that his cause is just in opposing an oppressive government ; but what condolence can we have for the man, who could insult his Queen and benefactor in the midst of her court, set her at defiance in his letters, and raise rebellion against a monarch beloved by her subjects, to gratify his own personal revenge ?

Elizabeth, to use the expression of one of her contemporaries, lived too long for herself, although too short a time for her subjects. She had outlived all her old ministers, who

had her entire confidence and affection, and was left alone amid new faces who were eager after novelty and change. After she closed the eyes of her faithful "spirit," in ninety-eight, feeding the old man in his last sickness "with her own princely hand," and proving herself such a "careful nurse,"* we need not wonder if she felt herself a solitary woman in the world, giving herself up to that melancholy in her last years which has given food for so many vain conjectures.

During the whole of Elizabeth's reign, Ireland had been to England a most troublesome burden. It was there that the united agency of Papist, Scot, and Spaniard, were active in stirring up the native turbulence of the different chieftains; and, although there was doubtlessly much bad government to be complained of, and it would have been wonderful had there been good government in such a state of things, yet is it equally certain, that the leniency with which Elizabeth wished to act was rather hurtful to her service than otherwise. The able conduct of Sydney, and the activity of such men as Sir Richard Bingham, at times brought about a temporary pacification;† but it was not till stronger government was rendered necessary by the Spanish invasion at the latter end of the reign, that that island was reduced to something like tranquillity. Elizabeth left her kingdom in peace to a most unworthy successor.

* Vol. ii. p. 488.

† The same letter, in which Sir Francis Walsingham gives a detailed account to Sir Edward Stafford of the trial of Mary Stuart, contains the announcement of the famous battle of Zutphen, and of the great victory of Sir Richard Bingham over the Irish Scots, vol. ii. p. 319—321.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH . . .	<i>to face title of</i>	vol. i.
PORTRAIT OF LORD BURGHLEY . . .	—	p. 1, vol. i.
PORTRAIT OF SIR ROBERT CECIL . . .	—	<i>title,</i> vol. ii.
FAC-SIMILE OF PEDIGREE	—	p. 1, vol. ii.
FAC-SIMILE OF BURGHLEY'S LAST LETTER	—	p. 488, vol. ii.

CORRESPONDENCE,

&c. &c.

LORD COBHAM AND DOCTOR WOTTON TO THE QUEEN.*

(13 Dec. 1558. Abridged.)

FIRST, cominge to Arras the first of December, the Bishopp of Ely and Deane of Canterburie, being att Corcams, but departing because the assemblie there was dissolved, uppon our letters they meeting us at Arras the next daie, we delivered

* Mary, with no other object than that of pleasing Philip of Spain, her husband, had, in 1557, joined him in a war against France, in which war England lost Calais and all footing in that country. At the time of Elizabeth's accession, the Earl of Arundel, Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, were with the Spanish King in the Netherlands, commissioned to negotiate a peace. Wotton was an able and apparently an honest statesman, and was one of the thirteen of Mary's counsellors who were retained by Elizabeth at her coming to the throne. Immediately after her accession, William Brooke, Lord Cobham, was deputed to announce to the Spaniards the Queen's accession, and to acquaint them that she had added to the commission for negotiating a peace, William, Lord Howard of Effingham. This letter is an early abridgment of their first dispatch. King Philip had many reasons for not showing at

your letters and received advertisement of that which passed att Corcams.* The morrow we departed with the Deane of Canterbury to Bruxelles, coming thither the 7 December. The King wrott to the Bishopp of Arras† to bring us to him to Gravendall, a monasterie in a forrest two leagues from Bruxelles. There after your majestie's comendations don, I delivered your letters, which perceivinge to be of credit, he willed me to declare yt; which don, the Bishopp, informed by the King, declared his grief for the death of your sister and his wief, and he commended her affection and virtue to hym. After he expressed his comfort in that your Highnes was peaceable come by just succession to the crowne, wishinge you long raigne, in honor and prosperitie; and for continuance of amitie made betwixt your fathers, he is most gladd to see you so well minded, and doth imbrace it willinglie. Here the Deane of Canterburie delivered that this confederacie was noe new thing, and not don for comoditie onelie, but necessitie against their common enemy, who encreased his limitts against his neighbour by falsehood and forces, in spoilinge his auncestors of the duchy of Burgundye, and your auncestors of Guienne, and since the common enemy is herbie now more strong, yt behoveth that betweene your majesties the straight amitie be more trulie observed. To this the King said, that yt was true, and by oppression the common enemy made stronger; and the necessitie of this league the

first any dislike to the new Queen, and as yet he knew nothing of her intentions. His unqualified acknowledgment of her right to the throne is curious. The peace was concluded at Câteau Cambresis on the 2nd of April, 1559.

This letter is referred to in Lord Burgley's Diary—"Dec. 13. L. Cobham and D. Wootton send Mr. Richard Shelly with the letters to the Queen's Majesty."

* Before Mary's death, the first Congress for negotiating a peace was held at the Abbey of Cercamps, on the borders of Picardy, from which it was moved afterward to Câteau Cambresis.

† This was Cardinal Granvelle, son of Chancellor Granvelle, one of the most trusty ministers of Charles V.

King hath acknowledged by his speeches and letters during the assemblie at Corcams, as Mr. Deane knoweth. Then I declared that you had in furtherance of the peace renewed the commissions and instructions to the Earle of Arundell, the Bishopp of Elie, and the Deane of Canterbury, determined* by your sester's death, "hopinge that as in her tyme, withoute her privitie, you wold conclude nothings, soe you will con-tyne towards the Queene now, concluding nothing without the restitution of Callis. To this he semed glad for renewing the commissions, but for the rest, because he had not spoke with the Duke of Alva,† and Ruy Gomez,‡ his commissioners, he could not answer.

Sir Richard Shelly is sent with this letter, being able by reason of his abode here to enforme your Highnes of the humour and states of thinges here.

Your Highnes humble and most bounden subjects,

W. COBHAM. N. WOTTON.

SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAMS§ TO MR. MORE. ||

SIR, I can but for these your late lettyrs, and all othyr your gentlenes, render onto you moste hertie thanks, and to

* *i. e.* ended.

† Ferdinand de Toledo, Duke of Alva, infamous in history as the oppressor of the Netherlands, was one of the greatest of the ministers of Philip II. "He was," says Watson, in his *Life of this King*, "arrogant, vain, and proud; violent, inflexible, and relentless; but patient, prudent, and sagacious; inured from his youth to arms, and possessed of consummate skill in the art of war."

‡ Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Eboli, was the chief favourite and confidant of the King, and the rival of the Duke of Alva.

§ Sir William Fitzwilliams, of Milton in Northamptonshire, ancestor of the present Earl Fitzwilliam. He married the sister of Sir Henry Sidney, and was himself five times Lord Deputy of Ireland. In the great lack of correspondence at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the present letter has been reprinted from Kempe's Loseley Manuscripts. It is also printed incorrectly in Ellis.

|| William More, of Loseley in Surrey, who was at this time Sheriff of the counties of Surrey and Sussex.

th' effect of your saide lettyrs, you shall ondyrstande that apon Saturdeye last, he beyng at Londyn, my sone Browne* wrote oneto me, that he hade onderstandyng my Lord Chamberlayn† began to make labore for his sone to be one of the knyghts for that shyre. Whereapon I sent to Mr. Cawerden to knowe hys opinion theryn, whose awnswer was, that for hys owne parte he wolde take no knoledge of annye suche mattys, nor he thoght gode that my son sholde, saying furdyr that oneles my son dyd stande for the same he wolde not, and that he undyrstode Mr. Sawndyrs made at the desyre of my saide lord earnest mene onto the freeholders abowte Kyngston, which made answeare that theye had promysyd ther gode wylls beffore, &c. Thus have I certeffyd my sayd sone of Mr. Cawyrden his mynde, and of my owen also, which is myche agreable to the same.

And I hope with the gode helpe of you and othyr gode frends the mattyr wyll go well ynoghe on owr syde, &c. Mr. Teylle wil be with you apon Wensdaye week, &c.

And for newes you shall ondyrstand that yestyrdaye beyng Chrystemas day, the Quene's majestie repayryd to hyr great closet, with hyr nobles and ladyes, as hath ben acustomyd yn such high feasts. And she perseving a bysshope preparing himselfe to make all in the olde fowrme, she taryyd there one-till the gospell was done, and when all the people lokyd ffor hyr to have offryde according the olde facion, she with hyr nobles returnyd agayn from the closet and the masse, onto hir priveye chamber, which was strange onto dyvers, &c. O blessid be God in all his gifts, &c.‡ You shall knowe more

* Sir Thomas Brown of Betchworth Castle in Dorking, who married Mabyll, daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliams.

† William Lord Howard of Effingham.

‡ It is well known that for at least a month after the accession of Elizabeth, no change was made in the religion of the State. She waited till she had her ministry settled and her parliament assembled. As the time of the meeting of parliament approached, she began to show more openly her intentions, and the circumstance here mentioned was one of the first prognostics of the great change that was to come. "On

of this matter by Mr. Teylle, &c. I pray you to commend me and my wiffe, first onto yourself and then onto your gode wyfe, &c. This Saynt Stevenes night, by

Your as his own,

WYLLIAM FITZWYLLIAMS.

SIR THOMAS CHALONER* TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

Sir, after my moste herty and due commendations, by the contents of my letters and other papers sent herewith to the Quene's Majestie, you shall perceive the summe of myne ad-

the first of January, following," says Fuller, "being Sunday (the best New Yeere's gift that ever was bestowed on England) by vertue of the Queene's proclamation, the letanie was read in English, with epistles and gospels, in all churches of London, as it was formerly in her Grace's own chappel." Happy it was for England that the change was made deliberately and quietly, without the violent commotions that broke out in other countries, where the authorities were opposed to the rising opinions.

* Sir Thos. Chaloner had been sent as envoy to the Emperor Ferdinand, then at Cambray, to announce the accession of Elizabeth, on the 26th of November, 1558. He was afterwards, July 17, 1559, sent into the Low Countries to be ambassador resident to King Philip, to whom he presented himself at Brussels in that character at the beginning of August. This letter must have been written very shortly after his arrival, when the King was already making preparations for his return to Spain. In spite of his professions and his apparent honesty in the transactions at Câteau Cambresis, Sir Thomas seems to have quickly seen through the hollowness of the friendship which the Spanish king pretended to entertain towards his mistress.

Sir Thomas, who was by birth a Londoner, and had been educated at Cambridge, had attended Sir Henry Knevet's embassy to Charles V. in 1541, and accompanied that monarch in his expedition to Algiers. In the passage he had a very narrow escape—"for the galley wherein he was, being either dashed against the rockes, or shaken with mighty stormes, and so cast away, after he had saved himself a long while by swimming, when his strength failed him his armes and

vertisements which here therefore to repete were superfluous. Although the King himself and Monsieur d'Arras* use me with very good words, yet I know otherwise what opinion secrete they have. And in very dede there is no more amitie to be loked for at their hands then respect of their private utilitie endureth.

I humbly beseach you, sir, have good remembrance unto the shortnes of the tyme and helpe, I may the soner have retorne of letters for signification of the Quene's pleasure to me, seing the King here embarqueth so shortly. I have not yet discovered to any man her Majestie's pleasure touching my abode here as she promised me, trusting before that tyme I shall have speciall letters in her behaulf. Nevertheles, if the same come not in tyme, whiche God forbidd, I must be faine to frame some good invencion to the . . . for myne accesse at the King's embarking. Thus in health and welfare I pray God send you all things prosperous. From Ghent, the . . . August 1559.

Always assured at your good commandement,

THO. CHALONER.

Beseche you, sir, lett me heare somewhat from you, whether ye have received my . . . and somewhat of our newes there . . . I beseche you, sir, help that the warrants for my diet may something be amended, so as I may receive a two or three monthes diets afore. All things here are outrageously dear beyond measure.

Your worship's again and very friend,

THO. CHALONER.

handes being faint and weary, with great difficulty laying hold with his teeth on a cable, which was cast out of the next gally, not without breaking and losse of certaine of his teeth, at length recovered himselfe, and returned home into his countrey in safety."—*Hakluyt*.

* The Bishop of Arras.

MINUTES OF SIR T. CHALONER'S CORRESPONDENCE.*

(To the Queene, 3 Augusti, 1559.)

Ill reports of your Majestie be here delivered ; the ground I think to be the frustrate suite of the King in his marriage with you. Although whatever rage they beare to us, they pretend it for the alteracion of relligion by your Majestie. Cont Ferial† told me he was sorie to see your present enemye the French onlie gaping for opportunitie, you being without money, men, armor, fortresses, practise in warr, or good captaines : “ And what a counsell ! ” quoth he, and soe begann sainge that England wold be another Millanne to sett the princes together by the eares—that the young Kinge was ruled by your greate enemye the Guise, and you should have hard of them before this, “ yf my master wold have geven assent.” Though the Spaniards doe somewhat mislik us, yet in this lowe parts in all conferences they take our parts. A plott discovered by one Hoggin, that before the French kinge’s death, the Spaniards ment to have stolne my Ladie Katherin Graie, whom they ment either to marie to the Prince of Spaine, or some other of lesse degree, if lesse depended on her. They take her discontented, not esteemed

* The following abstracts of letters, printed from the Cotton MS. Galba, C. I., illustrate, in a very interesting manner, the mutual position of England and Spain in the first year of the reign of Elizabeth. King Philip, in his jealousy of France, reckoned much on his connexion with England by his marriage with Mary. Very shortly after her death he made his suit to the new Queen, Elizabeth, by whom he was for some time held in suspense, but was finally rejected. Philip, looking only to himself, was a good match, but the difference of religion, and the national jealousy of Spanish influence which had been raised by its effects during the reign of Mary, made the acceptance of this offer a very hazardous thing. The jealousy between France and Spain was at this time of immense service to England.

† King Philip’s minister in England, and a great enemy to Queen Elizabeth.

of your Highnes nor her frends.* He telleth us of a letter sent from the Bushopp of Aquile†, part of it conteyning theis words, *Ho tanto tarder del Rey hom che los Inglesses se daran a Francia*. How they contemne us, because we are unarmed, wantinge exercise and soldiours ! I remember the Cont Feria wold saie we had matter, but wanted forme. An armed prince hath ever the quiett friendshipp of his neighbours.

The Rengrave offereth his services to your Majestie, and wisheth that England and Scotland were conjoynd, then to geve att forraine princes displeasure.

(8 Augusti, 1559.)

The Queene's letter to Sir Thomas Challoner into the Low Countries, ymporting that he should feele the king of Spaine whether he were willinge to have him goe into Spaine after him, or to staie there.

Secondlie, to signify the Queene was sorry that she shold loose the king's soe neere neighbourhood.

She offereth all the good meanes for furthering his voiage that her coasts and ports could afford.‡

(16 Augusti, 1559.)

Mr. Secretarie Cecill's letter to Sir Thomas Challoner, that

* Camden asserts that the Spaniards, fearing lest the French should obtain England by means of Mary Queen of Scots, had endeavoured privately to carry off the Lady Katherine Grey, in order to set her up against the latter, on the credit of Henry's will. Katherine was the daughter of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, by the Lady Frances Brandon, niece of Henry VIII.; and sister of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey.

† Alvarez de Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, the Spanish ambassador in ordinary to the court of England, who proved himself to be a very intriguing and troublesome person there.

‡ Philip set sail from the Netherlands with a fleet of near seventy ships, on the 20th of August, and arrived at Loreda in Biscay, the 29th of the same month.

he should in the Queene's behalf congratulate with the Duchesse of Parma* for her new regencye.

SIR THOMAS CHALLONER TO THE QUEENE.

(18 Septembris, 1559.)

The deliverie of your Majestie's letters of gratulation and credit to the Regent, she being accompanied with Italian gentlemen, the chief of her court, she received gratefullie. I moved touching your licences for horses, and that other of Mr. Gresham† your agent for powder and colenderes, which I delivered the King before his departure, and he appointed to geve unto her Altesse, for soe they call her. She desired to enforme herselfe with some of her councell first, and then to answeare. One Thomas Manethe, a Florentine, discoursed to me of a certeine devise for increasinge your revenues without offence of the subjects, discoursinge how commodious that province was through the scite, fertility, and ports, and thereby to bereduced to a rare forme of wealthe, whereas Flanders wantinge most of those aides, except industrie, doth now arise to such a wealth both of prince and subject. I have sent you

* Margaret, Duchess of Parma, natural daughter of Philip's father, Charles V. The sovereignty of the Netherlands having passed into the house of Austria, became joined with Spain under Charles V. When Philip left the Netherlands for Spain, he made his illegitimate sister, the Duchess of Parma, regent in his absence, and appointed for her chief minister Granville, Bishop of Arras. During her regency she endeavoured, as much as she dared, to soften down the violent measures of the bigoted Philip and the no less bigoted and persecuting bishop; but at last the king, dissatisfied by her moderation, sent the Duke of Alva with an army, and the duchess resigned her office in 1568, and rejoined her husband in Italy.

† Sir Thomas Gresham, second son of Sir Richard Gresham, an alderman of London, whom we shall find constantly mixed up with the money matters and the affairs of trade, during the first part of the reign of Elizabeth. He was the founder of the Royal Exchange and of Gresham College.

one of his devises. He brought with him an Almayne* myner, who comendeth much in likelihood the mynes in Ireland.†

SIR THOMAS CHALLONER TO MR. SECRETARIE.

(27 Septembris, 1559.)

A remembrance to him of the plott for surprise of Dover, and the hostages sent before to you by Mr. Merche, advisinge that although the fellowe Davyes, that did disclose it, be but a silly fellowe: yet because the enterprise of Callis was by a like fellow reveiled, but not beleewed, (*si mens non leva fuisset*,) with to over late repentance to examyne it further. The same fellow told me of much victuall from Ipswicke conveyed secretly to Callis, and from other parts, and for Dunkirk, of my owne knowledg more cometh thither out of Eng-

* German.

† In 1531, instructions were given by the privy council to Mr. Robert Record, surveyor of mines, to inspect the mines in Ireland, and to "make trial certain what gold, silver, leade, or other metall commeth of every hundred ower." Subsequent instructions, signed by King Edward VI., were given to William Williams and Sir Thomas Lutterell (chief justice of the Common Pleas) "to repayre to Clonmynes, and all other the mynes of the Kynge's Majestye in Ireland where the Almaynes have wrought;" and among other directions to "attayn to som knowlege of the allam-mynes within the said realme." In their report on these instructions it appears that the produce of the mine for one year wrought by the Almayns was 45 tons 23 lbs. of clean ore, which yielded 16 tons 1 cwt. 24½ lbs. of pure lead, and this lead afterwards yielded four ounces of silver in the cwt. The ore dug and wrought by the English miners yielded six cwt. per ton of pure lead, and five ounces per cwt. of fine silver. The expense in working, &c. exceeded the value of the metal. Concerning the allom mines they had not time to do anything therein.

In 1551, Joachim Gundelfinger, with a company of above fifty persons, came over from Flanders by invitation from the English government, to superintend the working of the mines in Ireland, among whom were several allom miners.

land, then to Callis when it was ours. Your searchers in England are domb dogges, being corrupted with *offam Cerberi*.

Two or three searchers entertained at Dunkirk, in Zeland, and other places, wold save the Queene five thousand pounds a yere. In Spaine the inquisitours have sited the bonnes of the Duke of Maieieth, buried seaven yeare ago, to be convinced* of heresy.

SIR THOMAS CHALONER TO MR. SECRETARIE.

(29 Septembris, 1559.)

It seemeth that the Queene had sent unto him to provide powder and armor, and therefore he writeth to my Lord that since we have noe stuff to make powder of, and men to make workmen, yt were fitt to make as much as should serve the realme, for armor and such necessarie instruments of defense of our lives and common libertie ought never precariously to be sued for att our fickle neighbours hands. The Venetians have of late suer meanes to preserve their powder, preparing each kind of the matter fineliest beaten by itself, whereby noe casualtie of fire can worke uppon theis kindes not assembled, yet when they have need, in an howre's space, they can mix it together and use it instantlie.

When our neighbours know we need them not, yt will make them become the kinder. The inquisition in Spaine is very terrible and much misliked.†

SIR THOMAS CHALONER TO MR. SECRETARY CECYLL.

(13 Octob. 1559.)

That uppon King Phillipp's arrival in Spaine out of the Lowe

* Convicted—French *convaincu*.

† The terrible persecution raised by Philip on his return to Spain, is told by all historians of that country.

Countreys, two thousand of all sorts, men, women, children, noble, unnoble, are apprehended for the inquisition. The Archbishopp of Tolledo * imprisoned, appealed to Rome. He calleth the inquisitors *Domini Dominationes*.

(21 Octob. 1559.)

Sir Thomas Chaloner writeth for advancement of his diett three moneths beforehand.

(4 idus Nov. 1559.)

A letter to the King of Spain, that he wold write to the Pope to preferr Nich. Saunders † to a cardinall hatt, that the English might have a credit to solicit their causes.

JOHN KNOX‡ TO MR. RAYLTON.

Your letters long looked for receaved I in Edinburgh this 23 of October. It is most assured that such a jewell as your other writings due specifye is laitlie cumed to our realme. But it is kept marvelous secreat, and the rather becaus these cold blastes of winter be able to cause the beaty of such May flowers to faid. Thus much my eis saw and my handes tuched: a trym staff for the Quen then Regent, sent from the persons whom before ye did specifye, in which were all things which ye expresse gorgiusly ingraued on silver, and double gilt. This staff was sene in the moneth of May, in

* Bartlemi di Caranza y Miranda, archbishop of Toledo, one of the most virtuous and learned prelates in Spain. In Mary's reign he had come to England to convert the English to Catholicism. The opinions of the reformers had now spread considerably in Spain, and some propositions in a catechism which he had published were so construed by his enemies as to draw him under the arm of the inquisition. Philip was in the end disappointed of his prey by the interference of the pope.

† This appears to be a note of a letter, perhaps intercepted, of the exiled English Catholics in favour of their zealous champion, Sanders

‡ Knox, who had taken refuge with the Protestants at Geneva, returned to Scotland through England on the 2nd of May, 1559.

the same schip in which I cam to Scotland,* and was schawen unto me in great secrecy. The number and names of my neady brethren I did signifye to such as be in your cumpany and unto the man above. The number is now augmented, and thair povertie also in such sort that yf releaf be not provided spedely, I fear that mo then I murn when we may not so weall amend it. What wold suffice every in plentei, I cannot weall assure you. But such I know thare necessitei to be, that some that daly fed forty and mo in houshold, is not now able to fead two. God cumfort them ! for thare battall is strong.

The alteration that be heer is this—the Quen-Regent, with publick consent of the Lordes and Barrons assembled, is deprived of all authoritie and regiment amonges us. Sche, Frenchmen, and assistants ar by open proclamation

* There can be no doubt that the French had been some time maturing their designs not only upon Scotland, but through it upon England also. They had tried, on Mary's marriage, to get her kingdom made over, as it were, to her husband ; but not having succeeded in that point, they had taken advantage of the affection of the Queen-dowager (Mary of Guise) for her family, who now ruled in France, to fill Scotland, under various pretences, with French soldiers, to awe the natives. The majority of the Scots were now zealous Protestants, and, with the turbulent independence of that people, they had little inclination to be deprived by a foreign power at once of civil and religious liberty. The nobles accordingly assembled, and finding the Queen-regent inaccessible to their remonstrances, they proceeded deliberately to depose her from her office. The French, however, did not desist from their enterprise : every day saw new envoys and new preparations for the conquest of Scotland, or (as they termed it,) the reduction of the rebels. The Scots, wanting the resources which their enemies possessed, applied to Elizabeth for aid, and the English government, well aware of the designs of the French, (who made no scruple of laying claim through Mary of Scotland to the crown of England,) by advertisements from every side, sent them money, and encouraged them secretly to stand up for their liberties, at the same time strengthening their own borders on the north.

declared and denounced enemies and traiters to this commonwealth, for that being thrise required and charged to desist from fortification of Leyth, she and thei do obstinatlie proceed in thare wicked enterprise. This was done this Moundaye befor none. Thare shal be appointed to occupye the authoritie a great counsall, the president and cheaf head whereof shall be my Lord Duck. The authoritie of the French King and Quen is yet received, and wil be in workes till thei deny our most just requeastes which ye shall, God willing, shortlie hereafter understand, together with our hole proceedings from the beginning of this matter, which we are to sett forth in maner of historie.

The battell is begun scharpe ynoufe; God geve the issew to his glory and our cumfort! Sche hath yet small advantage, for for the death of two of our soldiours and for the hurting of three gentilmen, sche hath lost two captaines and hath for wounded many of her cheaf soldiours to the number of twenty upon a day.

Thei brag, and the Quen especially, that ye will leave us in the myddest of the truble, and this sche hath of her last post which cam by you. My battell to this day hathe bein very bitter, but yf ye frustrat my expectation and the promesse that I have made in your name, I regard not how few my dolorus dayes shal be. What God hath wrought by me in this mater I will not now wreyte. But this I may say, that such offers ar refused, that mo do judge us fooles, then do praise our constancye. We ar determined to assay the uttermost, but first we must have three thousand mo soldiours, for if we assault and be repulsed, then shall our enterprise be in great hazard. And our commons are not able to abyde together. Geve advertisement theirfor to such as friend us, that without delay our support be sent as weall by money as by men.

If your eis be single, ye may not lett to succor our present necessitie, whatsoever daunger appear therof to ensew.

I most farther requyre you to be a suyttar to all such as

you know to be unfained favorers, and especiallie to our brethren of London, to have a respect to our necessities.

The Frenche shipps keap the narrow waters heir, which is to us a great noyance, and unto thame a great releafe. Provision wold be had by tymes, which we cannot mack be reasson that all our shippes ar absent, and as we fear stayed, so many as be in France. Mack ye advertisement as ye think good, for I cannot write to any especiall for lacke of opportunity; for in twenty-four hours I have not four or five to naturall rest and ease of this wicked carcasse. Remember my last request for my mother,* and say to Mr. George that I have nead of a good and an assured horse, for great watch is laid for my apprehension, and large money promised till any that shall kyll me; and yet wold I hasard to cum unto you, if I wear assured that I myght be permitted to open my mouth, to call again to Christ Jesus those unthankful children who, allace! have appeared utterlie to have forgotten his loving mercies, which sometimes I supposed they had embraced. And this part of my care now poured in your bosom, I cease farther to truble you, being troubled myself in body and in spirit for the troubles that be present and appear to grow. God give end to his glory and to our comfort. This 23 of October, 1559, att mydnyght. Many things I have to write, which now tyme suffereth not, but after yf ye mack haste with this messaige, ye shall understand more. . . . I write with sleaping eis.

J. K.

Advertise me yf all things cum to your hands close.

* In a letter of Knox to Sir James Crofts, (Sept. 21, 1559,) he says, "One thing must I suite to you, to witt, that either by yourself, or ells by Sir Rafe Sadleyr you wolde procure a licence for my mother, Elizabeth Bowis, to visitt me, and to remayne with me for a season." We learn from another letter that she was a widow. Knox's father is supposed to have been a retainer of the Earl of Bothwell.

"Raylton seems to have been a sort of private secretary or decypherer."—Note in the Sadler Papers. I am more inclined to think,

SIR RALPH SADLER AND SIR JAMES CROFT, TO SIR
WILLIAM CECIL.*

Sir, We wolde be loth to be thought negligent or sloathfull in writinge, and therefore, havinge none advertisement at all neyther by Randall† ne any others from the Protestants, nor of their intents and procedings syns their arryvall at Edinburgh, whereof we do not a litle mervaile, we have nevertheles thought it not amisse to occupie the posts with such matier as we can gette by espiell and otherwise by common brute.

That is, that, as we wrote in our last letters, the Duke,‡ and his sone,§ with sondry other Lordes, as the Prior of St. Andrewes, the Erles of Cassells,|| Glencarn,¶ Monteth,**

by this letter, that it was a feigned name for somebody in a more conspicuous position. An explanation of some passages of this letter will be found in a postscript of one by Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir James Croft, given a little farther on.

* This letter and the two which follow have already been printed among the Sadler papers, from the first draughts, which differ somewhat from these present copies taken from the corrected letter sent to Cecil. Several others, printed in the book above quoted, are found in the Cottonian Library, in a more correct form.

† Thomas Randolph, or Randall, who sometimes corresponded under the assumed name of Barnabie, as may be seen in the Sadler papers, was one of the ablest of Elizabeth's agents, and was long employed in Scotland. In the course of the present work will be seen many of his letters.

‡ James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, and Duke of Châtelherault, Regent of Scotland, until he resigned that post in favour of the Queen-dowager in 1555, and received a pension and title from France. He afterwards, in 1559, joined the congregation, and was secretly passed into Scotland by the aid of Cecil, who also lent him money out of his own purse.

§ Lord David Hamilton, fourth son of the Duke of Châtelherault.

|| Gilbert Kennedy, fourth Earl of Cassilis.

¶ Alexander, fifth Earl of Glencairn.

** William Graham, fifth Earl of Monteith.

Eglinton,* &c.: the Lords Ruthvan,† and Maxwell, &c.: with five thousand horse, as they say, arryved at Edinburgh, on Wednesday the 18th of this present, and after them, as it is sayed, cam four thousand fotemen which they have in wages, with a greate number besyds, bruted to be in the hole above ten thousand. And also they say that on Saterdag last the Erle of Argile‡ arryved there with five thousand. All this we here, but we woll not write it for gospell that their power is so greate. Albeit it is comonly sayed that they be aboute fifteen or sixteen thousand men, which is like ynough to be trew. We here nothing of the Erle of Huntley§ more then you know alredy, but som say that his eldest sone the Lord Gordon|| is at Edinburgh, with the Protestants, and th'erle Morton also. We have it confirmed by sondry reports that sithens the Protestants arryvall at Edinburgh there have been dyvers hotte skyrmisses betwixt them and the French, and many hurte and slayne on both sides, and that Kyrcaidye ¶ is evill hurte with the shotte of an harquebuss throughe his lefte shoulder, and a French capitayn of good reputation slayn.

* Hugh, second Earl of Eglinton, married to Lady Jane Hamilton, fourth daughter of the Duke of Châtelherault.

† Patrick, third Lord Ruthven, whom Knox characterises as "a stout man, and discreet in the cause of God."

‡ Archibald Campbell, fifth Earl of Argyle. His mother was a daughter of the Earl of Arran.

§ George, fourth Earl of Huntley. In a subsequent letter, we are told that "the Erle of Huntley remayneth at home in his countrey lyke a wylie fox."

|| George, Lord Gordon, afterwards fifth Earl of Huntley.

¶ Sir James Kirkaldy, Laird of Grange. He was one of those of the Protestant party who received direct assistance from England. In a letter of Sadler and Croft to the Council, on the 25th of October, (one day later than the present,) they say—"Lyke as we wrote to you, there have bene dyvers skyrmisses betwixt the Protestants and the French, which daylie do continue, with also mighty alarmes, and dyvers hurt and slayne on both syds, but Kirkaldy hath no suche hurte as we wrote of, the brute whereof did arryse of another Scottishman that was indede hurte in the same sorte as we dyd write, and before that in the same skyrmishe Kyrcaidye slew a Frenchman, whereby the Protestants had the fyrist blood, which they do take for good luck."

So that now th'affray is begon, and being thus farre entered in bloode on both parts, we thinke it cannott be soone staunched. The Quene's Majestie hathe more for two thousand pounds than her Highnes father coulde obteyn for six thousand. Whether they woll assaulte the towne of Legh or not we cannot tell, but you know the Scotts woll clymbe no walles. We trust within a day or twoo to advertise you of theire doings more certainly.

And because Randall writeth not, we judge that he woll be the first messenger himselfe.

So we end till we have more matier to write of, and wishe you as well as to ourselves. From Berwick, the 24th of October, 1559.

Your assured pore frends,

R. SADLER.*

JAMES CROFT.†

SIR R. SADLER AND SIR J. CROFT TO SIR W. CECIL.

Yesternight we receyved letters in cipher from Randall, with others from th'erle of Arrayn, alias Beaufort,‡ to the

* Sir Ralph Sadler, son of Henry Sadler, Esq. was born at Hackney, in Middlesex, and rose to distinction under the patronage of Lord Cromwell. He distinguished himself so much at the battle of Pinkie, that he was made a knight banneret, and is said to have been the last knight banneret of England. He died in 1587, and his monument still remains at Standon church, in Hertfordshire. He married Lord Cromwell's laundress, whilst her first husband was still living, though at the time supposed to be dead in foreign parts. Fuller tells us that this Sir Ralph had a pardon of the Pope for the sins of his family for three generations to come, which had been obtained for him by another person, and which had just expired when Fuller wrote.

† Sir James Crofts, (sometimes called—a Croft,) of Croft Castle, in Herefordshire. He was a worthy and valiant knight, and he was employed on the borders in Mary's reign. By that Queen he was imprisoned on a charge of being implicated in Wyat's treason. Elizabeth made him governor of Berwick, and contrroller of her household.

‡ The feigned name which was given to the Earl in his passport, which is printed in the Sadler Papers, vol. i. p. 21.

Quene's Majestie, to you and to us, and also certen other writings which we send you here enclosed, prayenge you that uppon consideration of the same, we may be directed from thence with spede, how we shall answer their desires in such sorte as to your wisdomes there shal be thought convenient, for now you may see great lykelihood what this mater woll growe unto.

We have in the meane season thought good to put them in some hope of suche reliefe as with honor and secresie may be ministered unto them, and also have given them such advise as you shall perceyve by the copie of our letters presently written in cipher to Randall, which you shall receyve herewith. But surely we thinke if they be not relieved and supported by the Quene's Majestie, their povertie being suche as they alledge, they must of force desiste and leave of their enterprise to their owne confusion. And if by her Highnes ayde they may prosper and achieve the same, yet in th'ende, as far as we can see, her Highnes must either manifest herself on that syde, or els they shall not be able to stryve and wrastle with the power of Fraunce. Wherin we be bolde to say our poore mynds as men which from the bottom of our herts do wyshe and desyre th'establishement of this ileland in perpetuall unitie and concord, the lyke oportunitie whereof, that is now offered, we thinke we shall not lyve to see, if this be pretermitted, the consideration whereof we referre to the wisdom and depe iudgement of those to whom it chiefelie appertayneth, which can more depely wey it, and decerne and see further in the same then our poore witts can arreche. So we ende, commytting you to God, who directeth all to his pleasure. From Berwyck, the 27th of October, 1559.

Your assured poore frends,

R. SADLER.

JAMES CROFT.

Postscripta. You shall receyve amongst the rest, a letter

from Knox to Mr. Rayleton,* who before wrote to him to gette some knowlege of the greate seale which you lately willed us to inquire of, that should be sent out of Fraunce into Scotlande. And now you shall perceiue what the said Knox writeth of the same, which, as he termeth it in his said letters, he calleth a jewell, and by the things ingraued in the staff he writeth of, sent to the Regent from her sone and doughter in Fraunce, he meaneth the armes of England, Fraunce, and Scotland.

SIR R. SADLER AND SIR JAMES CROFT TO CECIL.

Yesternyght arrived here the Larde of Ormeston,† with thies letters, which we send you here inclosed. He was specialle dispeched hither for money, and declared unto us, that onlesse they might be presently holpen and relieved with the same, they coule not kepe their power any longer together, but that their souldiors, which they had in wages, were readie to departe from them, for lack of payment, whereuppon because we thought it not good utterly to discourage them, we have presumed to send them one thousand pounds, which we declared unto him, we shifted for of our owne money, and such as we could borrowe of our frends for the tyme, and so

* Alluding to the letter of Knox which is printed at p. 12.

† John Cockburn, laird of Ormeston, a zealous reformer. Shortly after the laird was waylaid and attacked by the Earl of Bothwell, and the money which he had received for the Protestants taken from him. In his letter of 3 Nov. in which he announces this mishap, Randolph adds, "Immediately after word came to us that Ormeston was hurte, and the money lost, th'erle of Arrain and the Lorde James went with two hundred horsemen and one hundred footemen, and two pieces of artillerie, to the Lord Bothwell's howse, trusting to have founde him there; howbeit they cam to late onlie by a quarter of an hower. They have, notwithstanding, taken his howse; and onles he render the money oute of hande, this daye his howse shall be sett a fyer, and his goods reserved, in recompense of the money, and he to be taken as an enemye to the whole lords of the congregation."—*Sadler*, i. 536.

we have now writen unto Randall, requyering him to declare the same to suche of the lords there, as he thinketh good, and to advertise them, that we be in good hope to send them more very shortely, praying them to kepe it secret, and to make as few privie to it, as is possible, wherof lykewise we requiered the saide Ormeston; to whome also we have given two hundred crowns, for his owne reliefe, which he toke in verie thankfull parte, and so we retourned him this daye with spede to Edinburgh with good woordes, and good hope of more reliefe, as soone as may be. Furthermore, lyke as we wrote unto you that we wolde send this berer, Mr. Drurie, to Edinburgh, to th'intent we might the better understand by him of their dooings there, so being directed from me, Sir James Croft, to the Prior of St. Andrewes, he hathe been there amongst them since Thursdaye last, and is nowe retourned unto us in the companye of the said Larde of Ormeston. He hathe viewed the towne of Lythe verie neare, within the shotte of the harquebuss,* and what he judgeth of the same and all the rest that he hath seene and hard there, he can better and more at length declare unto you than we can wryte. He is honest, wise, and secret, and therefore we have thought good to dispeche him presentlie herewith, praying you to credit him in that he shall declare unto you on our behalfe. What woll be th'ende of this matier, we cannott tell, but surelie withoute the Quene's Majestie's ayde, either by taking open and playne parte with them, or ells secretly to be at charges with them, as her Highnes hath been for a tyme, we see not, their povertie being suche as it is, as this saide bearer can tell, that they shal be able of themselves to kepe any power long together, but of force must be fayne to staie and departe to their no little daungier, and to the utter overthrow of the hole intended purpose. And what may

* In the first draught of this letter, the writer here goes on to give Ormeston's opinion of the great strength of the fortifications of Leith, but the sentence is afterwards erased, as a matter which would be better told by the bearer of the letter, as he here goes on to say.

ensue therof, we referre to be considered there, by suche as can more depelie waye and judge of the same, then we can, and for our parts shal be readie to doo as we shall be commanded.* And thus we committ you to the tuition of Almighty God. From Barwick, the last of October, at midnight, 1559.

Your assured poore frends,

R. SADLER.

JAMES CROFT.

* During the latter part of this year, the Scottish reformers made head with difficulty against the French faction, and were only covertly aided by England. "But as soone as it was once knowne that the Marquesse of Albeuf, the Queene of Scot's uncle, leavyed forces by meanes of the Rheingrave in Germany for the Scottish warre, that pieces of great ordnance were conveyed to the ports, that greater provisions were made than necessary to suppress a fewe unarmed Scots, (for this was pretended,) that the Frenchmen also promised the Danish king (to the end to draw him to their party) that the Duke of Loraine should resigne his claime to the kingdome of Denmarke, and that they again more importunately urged the Bishop of Rome's censure against the Queene, and his sentence declaratory for the Queene of Scot's title to England; Sir Ralph Sadleir, a wise man, was sent to the borders of Scotland, to be assistant by his counsell to the Earle of Northumberland, warden of the Middle March, and to Sir James a Crofts, governor of Barwick. For to what end these things tended, the counsell could not see, unlesse to invade England, and to prosecute that by warre, which by titles and armes they made shew of."—So *Camden*.—On the 16th Dec., William Winter, with the navy, was sent to station himself in the Frith; on the 27th Feb. following, a treaty of mutual support was made by the Duke of Norfolk with the Scottish lords, and on the 26th of March, the English army, under Lord Grey, (who had been made warden of the Middle and East Marches,) entered Scotland. The French, disconcerted by the measures of the English government, expostulated, persuaded, treated; but Cecil was not to be deceived, the siege of Leith was persisted in, and in the end the French were compelled to give up their enterprise.

SIR THOMAS CHALONER TO CECIL.

(Dated Bruxelles, Dec. 6, 1559.)

“ I must tell you,” quoth he,* “ that of late four thousand crownes were surprized by the French, sent for the reliefe of the Scotts ; that whatsoever you make, that the Queen did not knowe thereof, and that it was a portion sent by Monsieur Cecill the Secretarie, you cannot make the French to beleieve it, for how can they think that Cecill had so much to spare, but rather persuade themselves that the rebells are covertlie maintained by the Queen. And thus you know,” quoth he, “ as much as I do therein. But now to the point,” saith he, “ where you requireth to consider the sequell of the French enterprise might tende to the danger of ours. I confesse,” quoth he, “ it is true what you saie. But first, to speake somewhat of the King my master, it is evident what sincere affection he had borne to the Queen, offering himselfe to her in mariage, standing betweene her and the danger of her lyfe, namelie, sending one time Johan d’Ayala unto to her to protest that she should better regard the state of her life, but now being farr of, although he could not doe the semblable, yet he would be verie sorye anie sinister adventure should chance unto her, seeing, as you saie, the vicinitie should put us in remembrance of our owne cause. But when the King, having discharged the office of a neighbour and friend, shall see his

* The Bishop of Arras. This extract from a letter of Sir Thomas, giving an account of a conversation he had had with that minister on the affairs of Scotland, shows the false game which the Spaniards were playing towards England, who, while they pretended to feel an interest for the Queen, were aiding the designs of the French in Scotland by their cunning representations of the weakness of the English, and exhortations to keep aloof from intermeddling. Had it not been for Cecil, these representations would probably have hindered Elizabeth from interfering openly. It was with the utmost difficulty that Cecil prevailed. Fortunately, the Spaniards, while they endeavoured to deceive the English as to their own strength, deceived themselves.

præmonition not esteemed, what resteth ells unto him then to provide some other waies for him? One thing assure yourselfe, that for your quarrel the King will not breake his peace with France. If you will not provide for yourselfe, the King must be driven to looke to his owne indempnitie, *et pourveoir à ses affaires*, by all meanes he can." This clause somewhat altered, I remember he repeateth three or four times. "But it is strange," quoth he, "that you beleeeve the world knoweth not your weaknes. I demande what store of capitaines or men of warre have you? What treasure, what furniture for defence? What hold in England able to endure the breath of a cannon one daie? Your men, I confesse, are valiant, but without discipline. But admitte you had discipline, what should it avayle in division? The people a little removed from London are not of the Queene's religion. The nobles repine at it, and we are not ignorant, that of late some of them conspired against her."

* * * * *

CECIL TO QUEEN ELIZABETH. *

It may please your most Excellent Majesty,—With a sorrowfull harte and watery eies, I your poore servant and most lowlye subject, an unworthy Secretary, besech your Majesty to pardon this my lowlye suite, that considering the proceeding in this matter for removing of the French out of Scotland doth not content your Majesty, and that I cannot with my conscience gyve any contrary advise, I may, with your Majestie's favor and clemency, be spared to entermeddle therein. And this I am forced to doo of necessitie, for I will never be a minister in any your Majestie's service, whereunto your owne mynd shall not be agreeable, for thereunto I am

* We have many documents which bear testimony to the extreme reluctance with which the Queen consented to give open aid to the Protestant party in Scotland. The following is printed from a draught in Cecil's own hand, preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. It is not dated.

sworne, to be a minister of your Majesty's deternynations and not of myne owne, or of others, though they be never so many. And on the other part to serve your Majesty in any thyng that myself cannot allow, must nedes be an unprofitable service, and so untoward, as therin I wold be loth your Majesty should be deceyved. And as for any other service, though it were in your Majesty's kytchen or garden, from the bottom of my harte I am ready without respect of estymation, welthe, or ease, to doo your Majesty's commandement to my lyve's end. Whereof I wish with all my poor sorrowfull hart, that your Majesty would make some prooffe, for this I doo affyrme, that I have not had sence your Majesty's reigne, any one daye's joye, but in your Majesty's honor and weale.

DE LA BROUSSE AND THE BISHOP OF AMIENS TO THE
CARDINAL OF LORRAINE AND THE DUKE OF GUISE.*

(From Edinb. 27 March, 1559.)

My lords, for that the Queene Dowagier hath answered you at large to these two letters which she hath receaved (which is all that we have receaved from you since the comeinge of Octavian,†) we will use none other repetition;

* Translation of an intercepted letter, of which the original is preserved in MS. Cott. Calig. B. ix. fol. 956, along with some others of the same date, perhaps those mentioned by the council to Cecil and Wotton in the June following, who send "certayne interceptyd letters sent by you, Mr. Secretary, to be discyphered by Mr. Somer." Lodge, i. 316. This letter is dated in the original, according to the French way of reckoning, March 27, 1560.

† An Italian, native of Milan, who had come over with a re-inforcement from France, and on whose arrival the French began to fortify Leith. Cecil, on the 24th of August, writes to Sir Ralph Sadler, "The French were embarked the 20th of this moneth, being in number 14 sayles, but as yet I have no knowledge certen of there passing by. There is 1000 pykes, and 1000 harquebusiers. One Octavian, an old Millener of this court, hath cheff chardge." He arrived in the latter part of August. But he seemes to have passed backwards and forwards more than once.

and also for that Mons. de Ville Parisi* writeth unto you at good length as well of the state of the fortifications as of victualls in that behalfe.

And accordinge to that that it hath pleased you to write by one of your letters, I, La Brosse,† truste to departe within these fower daies, and for that purpose have sent to the Duke of Norfolk,‡ who lieth in the borders, to be assured of my passage, although I have the Quene his mistris conduct. Yet, thus much have I thought good to advertise you of particularly, that there is nothing forgotten of all that hath bene possible, to put the Quene of England out of suspition to enter into the warre, and to satisfie the rebells who have ever stood stiffe as they doe yet, to se the French Kinge without fortification and men of his nation in this realme.

My lords, the Quene Dowagier hath written to you for the expedition of the bishoprick of Rosse in the favoure of the Deane of Glascowe,§ who is president of the session. His age, very greate and deepe learninge, do certifie enough of hym. Whereof we would not fayle to beare witnes unto you, and to tell you that he is well affectioned, and very necessary on this side. The Bishoprick is yet whole.

Since the writing hereof, the trumpet is returned from the Duke of Norfolk, and bringeth me word that the said Duke

* Mons. d'Oisel.

† La Brosse, a French knight, accompanied by Pelleuce, Bishop of Amiens, and two thousand foot, arrived at Leith at the end of September. The Bishop brought with him some doctors of the Sorbonne, who gave out that they were come to dispute with the preachers of the congregation. "The Bishop," says Sir Ralph Sadler on the 29th of Sept., "as they say, cometh to curse, and also to dispute with the Protestants, and to reconcile them, if it wol be."

‡ Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was sent to the border as lieutenant-general of the north.

§ Henry Sinclair, who was made president of the session in 1544, and Dean of Glasgow in 1550. He died in 1565, and was succeeded by Lesly, so famous in the history of this reign.

will not give me suretye of my passport till he shall have first advertised his mistris thereof. I know not what will come of it.

You promised and assured me before my departure, and also since by a letter, which it hath pleased you, my Lord Cardinall, to write hither, that my nephewe should have an offer of a counsaylor whereof he hathe not yet his depeche, as it is written unto me. I knowe not whereon he or I have offended that he hath it not.*

THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND TO D'OISEL.†

Since the arrivall of the enemy to Leith, I have heard nothinge from you. I have sent divers to you, and have learned that they have bene all taken in goinge, if a gentleman of the Lord Seaton's be not entred, by whome I have written largely unto you.

The negotiation is broken upon the comeinge of the Englishe, because our folks will not or cannot leave of, and it is now eight dayes since they went hence.

The Quene of England continueth her dissimulations: but for all that, the Kinge resteth not so much thereupon, but that he hath advertised the Kinge of Spaine thereof, who hath promised to let him have shippes and victualls. The King in the meane tyme hath caused fower and twenty great shippes to be armed to be sent hither, with other force, which he causes to be made ready. This is the substance of a letter sent to the Bishop of Valence.‡ Againe, the cipher

* Some words are inserted in this translation which I have omitted, because it is not very clear what they are, and they have nothing answering to them in the original.

† D'Oisel was at this time closely besieged in Leith by the English and the Scottish Protestants. This is an intercepted letter; the original is preserved in MS. Cotton. Calig. B. ix. fol. 986. Date, May 5, 1560.

‡ John de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, who had before been ambassador in Scotland, in 1553.

is very dangerous, for within these two dayes one hath shewed me a translation in Scottish language, made word for word, of the letter which I receaved by one of the three wayes of the 19th of February, wherein there is so much spoken of the castle, and of the temporising with the rebells againe.

That which is written by Mr. Baptist is in goode earnest ; and I pray you to send me the remedie. I have sent fower hundred crownes to Sier Sarlabos at two tymes within these tenn dayes before.

Loke upon the memoriall which is even now sent to me, touching the enterprise of the enemy, whose purpose was yester eveninge to make theire trench on the north side of the water, right against the citadell, to the intent to myne the said citadell.

A man, of late, which arrived from London, hath promised to the Lord Grey to separate, within three dayes and nights, the newe bulwark of St. Anthonie from the towne, so as it shal be easie for them to assayle the rest of the towne ; wherefore provide for it on that side. The Lord Grey vaunteth that, by Munday or Tuesday night, which shal be the 6 or 7 day of May, he will enter into the towne, or it shall cost him many of his men, and their meneing is to give the assault at the breake of day. They have requyred that the Lords, Lards, and Scotts gentlemen take every one of them an English gentleman of like degree by the hand when they goe to the assault.

LORD CLINTON* TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My good Lord, the newis that ar come synce your lordship's departure, is off the deth of the Quene Dowager of Scotland,†

* Edward, ninth Lord Clinton, created in 1572 Earl of Lincoln. He was appointed Lord High Admiral by Queen Mary, and was confirmed in that office by Elizabeth, on her accession. He married thrice, his third wife being Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, celebrated in song by Lord Surrey as the 'fair Geraldine.'

† She died on the eleventh of June, according to a letter of Cecil printed in Lodge.

which is wrytten from my lord of Norfolk's grace. The lose of twenty-seven galleys and thirty grete ships of the king of Spayne in this voyage of Trypolie, which ar taken by Dracont,* first lieutenant to the Turke. The Duke of Medyna Cely forced to flie in to a smale hole newlie fortified in those parts by the Spanyards, with seven soldyers in his company, which are all that is lefte of twenty thousand, the rest slayne and takyn by the sayd Dracont. And it is thought that for lack of vytell the sayd Deuk of Medyna shal be distressed ere the sucours from Spayne may come to hym. We here nothing of any conclusion between Mr. Secretary,† Mr. Wotton, and the French, for that they ar but now newly met. But the lykelihod is grete of a good conclusion very shortly. The Frenche in Leth are in grete penury, which is certainly advertised hyther. When more shall come to my knowledge, I wyll advertise your Lordshipp. God grant you long lyff in much honor. From the corte, the 17th of June, 1560.

Your Lordship's assured to command,

E. CLYNTON.

* The persecution raised by King Philip drove the Moors of Spain to rebellion, and they were aided by their brethren of Africa, who infested the seas, and did much hurt to the shipping of the Christians. Dragut, a native of Natolia, and a person of mean birth, had raised himself in the Turkish service to be a great admiral, and had long been the terror of Italy and the Mediterranean. He had fortified Tripoli, and made it his head quarters. When Philip returned from the Netherlands, he fitted out an expedition under the Duke of Medina Celi against Tripoli and the isle of Gerba, while Dragut was absent. Gerba was taken, and the Spaniards lost their time in fortifying it, instead of hastening to Tripoli. In the mean time Dragut, aided by a great fleet from the Sultan Solymán, came upon them and destroyed their fleet. The Duke, with part of the fleet, did not fly to Gerba, but escaped under cover of the night, and returned to Spain. Gerba, which was held by Don Alvaro de Sande, was immediately besieged by the infidels.

† Cecil, who was in Scotland with Dr. Wotton, to negotiate with the French commissioners, for the evacuation of Scotland by the French troops.

CECIL TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

It maye please your most excellent Majesty, sence our common letters of the 19th, wherin we declared how farr we had proceded to that tyme, we fynd that this abstynence hath doone us much good divers wayes. The strength of the towne hath bene quyetly and truely viewed; there hath bene also meanes used to drawe some speciall men owt of the towne from the French; and at this present I perceyve the men of warr make litle dowt of wyning the towne, having the army here to besege it. Nevertheless, I and Mr. Wotton take another waye, and meane to obteyne that by treaty with a peace to follow, that others wold by loss of bloode, with a warr to follow. We dowt not but to obteyne all reasonable things saving suerty towards both these realmes, and such is the case being betwixt a prynce and subjects, as we knowe not howe to provide for suerty of subjects agaynst all adventures, without such dishonor to the Prynce as neyther wil be graunted, nor can be reasonably demanded for subjects. I assure your Majesty, these cases be marveloose difficult to resolve, and yet considerynge I knowe the French mallice, and am wholly addict to your Majesties honor and suerty, I wold not yeld so much to the French Quene's honor in behalf of her subjects, if your coffers wer full to maynteane but one yere's warr, such wold be your honor, conquest, and suerty. Our gretest difficulties at this present will stand uppon continuance of the leage betwixt your Majestie and this realme, wherin I fynde the Scottes so peremptory, as they will stand fast therto that they will never accord to breake it of there part. Within two dayes it will appeare what shall insew thereof, for I see the French be as peremptory, so that except the moderation come of our part, I see no hope of accord. Thus much I am bold to trouble your Majestie in this matter. I understand by Mr. Petre's letters,† that your

* Sir William Petre, chancellor of the garter, and a principal secretary of state during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. He died in 1571.

Majesty wold have me consider the advertisements owt of France brought by Mr. Joones, wherin I am to seke what to wryte, for I thynk they be such things as ar brought to your embassador to content hym, but how certen they be I knowe not, and uppon uncertentyes I can not advise any certeyne counsell. I thynk suerly France is disturbed,* but I see not lykelihode of contynuaunce, for either lack wil be in the author's being but popular to contynew, or els remedy wil be in the rulors, rather to yeld in some part, and so to dissolve the conjunction of nombers, than to lese there outward things by inward contention. The offer made of certen townes in Britaine and Normandy lyketh me well, and the same wold be so allowed, but I can not gyve your Majesty counsell to embrass things so farr of. No strength is tenable that is farr distant, nether behoveth it that the crowne of England should enter into warr with suerty of all Bretayne. Profitable it is for the tyme to dyvert the enemye by procuryng hym bussyness at home.

If it should not please God to gyve us his grace to make a peace presently, (whereof I wold be sorry,) there be many wayes to offend your enemy withall, without great chardge, whereof I will forbear now to wryte, becawse I doo bend myself to peace. This afternoone, Mr. Wotton and I should have herd the French and Scottes artillery, I should saye articles of there treaty, but they be so long in plantyng, as I thynk it wil be to-morrow in the morning before the battry will shoote of. The French seke all the wayes they can to putt a jelosy in the Scottes of us, so as we see what they shoote at; wherein if there wer not more trust that the matters wold kepe them asonder and us together, than in any certenty of the nation of Scotland, I wold feare more then I doo. But suerly the hatred to the French is such, and the causes so many, the benevolence at this tyme towards England is so grete, and that with such desert, as I see not that in long tyme the

* The religious troubles in France were just beginning.

French shall recover the mynde of Scottishmen agaynst us as in tymes past hath bene. Sence the Quene's deth, here be none in Scotland that dare openly shew favor to the French. The Bishoppes that be most offended, dare not shew any countenance to theis men, ne dare come out of the castle for hatred of the common people. We did offer to the Archbishop of St. Androos,* a gard to come to the ambassador's, but he durst not, and so the French ambassador went into the castell to hym and others. I will no more molest your Majesty, but use my contynuall prayer, that God wold direct your hart to procure a father for your children, and so shall the children of all your realme bless your sede. Nether peace nor warr without this will profitt us long. Which, in the name of God, (I am now a precher,) I humbly besech your Majestie to consider earnestly, for otherwise suerly God will require a sharp accompt at your hand, for your time lost, and the danger of bloodshed of your miserable people. I trust of your Majestie's pardon. From Edenburgh, the 21st of June, at four of clock in the afternoone, 1560.

Your Majestie's humble subject and unworthy servant,

W. CECILL.

SIR NICHOLAS THROGMORTON† TO CECIL.

If I should discourse particularly unto you what these men‡ have done since my last letters, which were of the 7th, you would think me as fond in observing their doings as they mad in variable executing. But you may see what force fear hath,

* John Hamilton, natural son of James, first Earl of Arran, who had been made Abbot of Paisly in 1525. He was taken prisoner in Dumbarton Castle, and hanged at Stirling, April 1, 1570.

† Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was the fourth son of Sir George Throgmorton, of Loughton in Warwickshire. He was employed for several years, first in France, and afterwards in Scotland. He was afterwards made Chamberlain of the Exchequer, and chief butler of England. He died in 1570.

‡ The French.

that occasioned such variety. One day they prepare a-pace to send great force into Scotland, and their captains and men of charge run to and fro; the next day all is countermanded. They be in such security, as no man knoweth overnight where the King will lodge. To-morrow from all parts they have such news as doth greatly perplex them. Every day new advisemens of new stirs, as of late again in Dauphiny, in Anjou, in Provence, and to make up their mouths, the King being in the skirts of Normandy, at Roan, upon Corpus Christi day there was somewhat to do about the solemn procession, so as there was many slain in both parts, but at length the churchmen had the worse, and for an advantage, the order is by the King commanded that the priests for their outrage shall be greivously punished. What judge you when the Cardinal of Lorraine is constrained to commande to punish the clergy, and such as do find fault with others' insolency, contemning the reverent usage to the holy procession. You shall be better able to judge of these men's credits by such late printed books as herewith I send you.

I am sorry the way to come into Leith and to go from thence is so open; for here is one arrived, named Vincent, of whose enterprise I did long ago advertise, that hath, as he braveth, been in Leith lately, and delivered thirty barrells of powder and ten thousand crowns, and in the execution of his enterprise sayth he did sink some of your victuallers. These men say now your seige is *à la volée*.

The 21st of this month advertisement came to this court of the Dowager of Scotland's death; immediately whereupon they here sent to the sea with diligence: and yet till that tyme all things were stayed, and their forces and provisions erst prepared for that purpose were countermanded. Whereupon it riseth, whether they fear some mischance in Scotland by her death, and therefore will seek to prevent it by establishing a governor there in time; or whether it be, that they hear of some extremity of their men in Leith, demanding present aid; or whether they see at this time any advantage upon

the Queen's Majesty's navy, either to be out of their way, or to be retired out of the Firth, and therefore assure themselves of free passage through, I know not. But howsoever they send, I think it can be no great matter, because of their last, yea and perhaps that order may be broken too ere this letter come to your hands. And yet I thought good to let you know this much hereof, praying in case you be yet in the North, that you will advertise the Duke of Norfolk and Mr. Winter* thereof, to the intent they may provide for their coming, for this determination holding, they shall shortly hear of them. If you be at the court, then it shall be well done, that my Lord Admiral† have also knowledge thereof from you.

There is some bruit that the Almainst‡ do begin to assemble, which doth perplex these men; and the rather for that they fear the displeased number at home will conjoin with them.

Sir, I have proved a true prophet, for since the 27th of May, which time you departed from the court, I never received letter nor word forth of England.

I am now at the town, where the antient famous religious Druids made their chiefe abode.§

Sir, the parson of Roxborough, named Car, passed from Scotland through England by a leud conduct, full fraught from thence, and is here arived, and hath been a good time past. I have spoken of him in my other letters. He assureth the Earls of Huntley, Mareschal, || Bothwell, Cassills, Montrose, ¶ and many other noblemen to be heartily French;

* William Winter, afterwards knighted, and made vice-admiral.

† Lord Clinton.

‡ The Germans, who bore good will to the French Protestants.

§ Dreux, in Normandy, whose name has by some been supposed to be derived from that of the Druids.

|| William fourth Earl of Marischal. He took no very decided part in the troubles of Scotland during the reign of Mary.

¶ William Graham, second Earl of Montrose, who died in 1571.

the whole clergy to be of the same affection. The whole Marches and Tyvedalé, by the means of the Lord Hume, the Carrs, and Boughcleugh's,* to be assuredly at the French devotion. He hath (as he sayth) brought letters with him, signed with their hands, with overture of great things. Howsoever you do, retain the Prior of Saint Andrews to the English; for these men mean once again to attempt to win him away; for this subtile priest saith in him consisteth all. The Cardinall's letter to the Pope for the Provincial Council in France, and some other things you must forbear to knowledge of untill you repair to the court.

I am in a way to discover a dangerous practise intended against her Majesty and her government; but I find mazes in it, and therefore must follow my bottom of thread. I fear it will prove as evil a matter as the Cardinal Pole's.

The Spaniards† be as loth to have any league betwixt England and Scotland as the French, and therefore, you can consider how much it importeth her majesty to keep that league entire, and for nobody's pleasure to dissolve it, for at length you shall see thereabouts will be the sticking on all sides: and so the French and Spaniards may win the dissolving thereof. They care for nothing else, for a little time, they say, will repair all other matters, if that be broken. I am greatly abused, so that league be well and mutually observed, if any one amity prove so necessary, so safe, and profitably for England, for *in rerum natura* it must be so.

Thus I humbly take my leave of you, praying you to

* The Humes, the Kerrs of Fairnyhirst, and the Scotts of Boughcleugh, had long been famous for their depredations on the English borders

† In Cecil's journal, we have a notable example of the duplicity of the Spaniards on this occasion. "March 10. M. de Glason [the Spanish envoy] came and joyned with the Bishop of Aquila to move revocation of the army out of Scotland, but Glason, privately to my Lord Admiral and me, the secretary, counselled us to the contrary."

make my hearty commendations to Mr. Wotton. From Dreux, the 24th of June, 1560.*

Yours to use at command,

N. THROGHMORTON.

B. HAMPTON TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My duty humbly remembered to your good Lordship, bycause Mr. Petre doth (I am sure) write unto you at good length, of the state of things in the north, and of such other matters as hath passed there since your Lordship's departure, † I will for this tyme forbear to trouble you with the repetitions thereof, the rather for that untill this tyme we here not of any conclusion of the treatie in Scotland, although the commissioners have met sundrie tymes about the same, and whereunto it will growe it can yet be hardly judged. But as sone as th'ende thereof, either one waye or other, shall be knowne, I will not fayle to move the Quene's Majestie that the same may be with diligence signified unto your Lordship, either from her Highnes self, or from my Lords, or otherwise as shall stande with her pleasure.

This bearer hath now his full discharge from hence. The Bishop of Kyldare‡ hath byn spoken withall, and promysseth

* The letter is endorsed as having been received in Edinburgh on the 2nd of July, so that it must have come much more speedily than the news of the Queen's death had been carried to France.

† The Earl of Sussex landed in Ireland on the 25th June, 1560.

‡ Alexander Craike, B. D. was nominated to the bishoprick of Kildare by privy seal, dated Greenwich, 17th May, 1560. "We are pleased and contented that the same Alexander, for his better encouragement to take this vocation upon him, and to discharge the duetie belonging thereunto, shall have also, with the said bishoprick, in manner of augmentation and of a commendam, the deanrie of St. Patrick's, now beinge in our disposition in like sorte as the late bishop of Kildare had." "The Queen," observes Mr. Monk Mason in his history of St. Patrick's, "as appears by her letter, was ignorant of the real constitution of this church; and, it is probable, that the

to take the bishoprik upon hym, and to repayre shortly over. Mr. Attorney having byn divers tymes sent for to repayre hyther to speak with my Lords, and the matter being hitherto differed, by his busines and other occasions, is nowe in th'ende written unto to repayre hither immediately uppon the fynishing of his circuit, and then it is ment he shall forthwith be sent over, and before that tyme it cannot be.

The signet for Ireland is delyvered to this boarde and sealed with the signet here. It is not so well made, in myne opinion, as it might have byn, and yet the hast in sending it away suffereth it not to be newe mended. The letter to the Chamberlayne and other officers of Chester for the suffering of your Lordshipp's provisions to passe without custome, was signed by the Quene's Majestie before your Lordshipp's departure, and delyvered out of my hands, either to your Lordshipp yourself, or to somme of your folkes, as I take it.

It may, therefore, like you to cause it to be sought for, and in case it be not forthcoming, uppon knowledge thereof, I shall solicit another. Thus my leave humblie taken, I committ your good Lordeship to the tuition of Almighty God. From Grenewich, the 29th of June, 1560.

Your good Lordeshippe's humblie to commande,

B. HAMPTON.

LORD ROBERT DUDLEY* TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My good Lord, I most hartly thank you for your gentle and frendly remembrances. I am right gladd to hear your interval between this and the time the letters patent were passed, was employed in Craike's election, for in the patent he is mentioned as Dean 'de facto.' Craike was consecrated in his own cathedral by Hugh Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin, and obtained orders for restitution of the temporalities on the 22d of August." Craike died in 1564. Walter Harris remarks that, in the short space of three years and three months, he did more mischief to the see of Kildare than his successors were ever able to repair.

* The celebrated Earl of Leicester.

Lordship aryved so well in that countrey. The newes of the north ar now growne to perfection, for there is a peace concluded and agreed uppon. The artycles I cannot yet send your Lordship, but yt is sayd veary honorable for her Majestie: this much, of much ; first all things shall rest betwene France and Scotland, as yt was before the broyll, without loss or forfeiture of any man's office or goods. They shall ellect a number of the noblemen to governe the state without any Frenchmen. The French shall further give over ther holds, Lyeth shall be demolyshed, the Frenche shall departe into France out of hand, saving ther shall remayne in Dunbarre fifty or sixty Frenchmen, and in Inſkyth as many, except yt be otherwyse ordered by a parliament begun the 12th of this moneth. Certayne allowance shall be made to the Scotts for payment of their victuallys and other chardges they have bene at, &c.; for us a perfect peace concluded betwene France, Scotland, and us for ever, yf yt will last. And so all armour and weapon layd asyde. Thus I send you the first of sertenty we have received from thens. And so all things being as you left them, saving my Lorde of Pembroke, who is yet very weake, I take leave of your Lordship with my most harty commendations to your self and my good lady and syster, your wyff. At Grenewich, this 11th of July.

At your Lordship's commaundement,

R. DUDDLEY.

WM. HONNING TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

[To the right honorable and my singuler good Lorde th'erle of Sussex, the Quene's Majestie's Lieutenante of her Highnes Realme of Ireland.]

Pleaseth it your good Lordshipp, after humble and due remembrances, to be advertysed, the Vicecounte Mountague*

* "The Lord Montague is revoked from Spayne, and Sir Thomas Chamberlaine left as Lidger there." Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, May 16, 1560, in Lodge. Anthony Browne, first Viscounte Montague.

(saith Don John Pacheco) departed Kinge Phillipps court before his comynge thens twoo dayes, but not yet aryved, for that he cometh the longe seas. This Don John Pacheco, who at his first accessee joyned with the Bishope of Aquila, hathe taken his leave; the worlde saieth he came to encourage the peace concluded, and so was rather to congratulate it then to do his intended mesage.

Dr. Maye, deane of Pole's,* is nowe resolutely appointed to the sea of Yorke. Mr. Alley,† a joly preacher, hathe Exeter, and with the same, for the tenuitie of that lyvinge, a promotion or twoo for five yeres, lyke as Mr. Parkehurst,‡ clerke of Norwiche, hathe alyke for three yeres to enable hym the better to the payment of the first fruits.

Now resteth all the talke here of a litell progresse to Portesmouth, and of the Kinge elect of Sweden, brother to the late

Camden calls him "a man of singular wisdom, but most devoted to the Romish religion, and one that in that respect would be the more welcome to the Spaniards."

* Dr. May, who had been restored to his deanery of St. Paul's in 1559, when the bishopricks were filled with Protestants. Several of the sees had been left temporarily vacant, and particularly that of Yorke. The nomination of May at this time seems to have been done at the suggestion of Cecil, who, on his way to Scotland, writes from Scroby to Sir William Petre (June 4, 1560): "I perceyve grete lack hereaway of a bisshopp of York. I thynke if you wold move her Majesty, she wold pass the congée d'eslyer for Dr. Maye; suerly the sooner it be doone the better." (Haynes, p. 323). Dr May died before he was consecrated, and was buried at St. Paul's on the 12th of August of this same year.

† William Alley, of King's College, Cambridge, who being a reformer, had lived during Mary's reign in privacy, wandering about the north of England, and practising physic for a livelihood. He was consecrated bishop of Exeter, July 14, 1560, and had the temporalities given him on the 26th August. See Wood.

‡ John Parkhurst, was consecrated Bishop of Norwich on the first of Sept. 1560. He had lived in exile at Zurich during the reign of Mary. He was a great writer of Latin epigrams.

Duke John latelie here; great preparations is made for his honorable receipt.*

I thinke your Lordshippe hath herde of the deathe of the poore Lorde Audeley,† (yf so I maye be bolde to terme hym). I think a shreude wiff, the relicte of a merchaunt of London, sett hym forward, from whome, besyds her shreudnes, he did not atteyne the welth he loked for.

Th'erle of Penbroke‡ is at Henden, and as yet dare not the physicians assure his recovery. The Countysse of Bedford is brought abed at Exeter of a daughter.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton hathe of late for some argument of favour a pattent of forty pounds' land well graunted in a tyme of her Highnes present great charges. And because I have sene a page of the chamber, one Russell, contented to serve in the chappell, I remember the olde Justice Mountague desendinge from the bench to the comon plees, saied it was warmer in the kichen then in the hall. By reason of the contynuance of the foule wether universall for Germany and England and Fraunce, to the rottinge of there grapes and not ripinge, corne hath byn at 6s. the bussell here in some parties, but fallen half in half at a second markett.

About a moneth or five weekes paste, after that the Turque had somewhat prevayled at Jarby against Kinge Phillippe's

* Eric the Fourteenth, King of Sweden, at this time offered his hand to the Queen, and was believed to be on his way to England. John duke of Finland was Eric's brother, and had been sent by the late King Gustavus, their father, to negotiate the marriage.

The prospect of so close an alliance with that country naturally made people curious about its history, and among other tracts on the subject we have one, by George de Corth, printed Oct. 28, 1561, entitled, "The Description of Swedland, Gotland, and Finland," and dedicated "To the ryght woorshipfull and hys syngular good mayster, Mayster Thomas Steuckley, Esquire."

† George Touchet, lord Audley. His wife was, according to the peerages, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Bryan Tuke, Knt. Treasurer of the Chamber to Hen. VIII.

‡ William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, grand master of the household to Queen Elizabeth.

armye,* certaine Turques, about a thousande men, came nere Nyce, where the Duke of Savoye laye, and betweene it and Vyllefrank, being six hundred in ambushe, made shewe and skyrmishe of four hundred, wherby they trayned out the Duke and his men, in which skyrmishe the Duke hardly escaped, losinge fifty or sixty gentylmen, whome he afterwards redeemed by ransome.

The Duke of Medena' Celi loste his eldest sonne for prysoner to the Turque, and being caryed to Constantinople, it is supposed that his raunsome must be the surrender of a holde in Africa, the Duke's patrimony.

Your Lordshippe hathe formerly harde that the Sophi † had favorablie receved Baissett,‡ the Turques sonne, though in disgrace with the father § for th'affection the Jenesaries had to hym. Sythens the same Bassett, mystrustinge some practyce of his father, paste by confederesy betwixte the Sophi and a secretorye attendinge on the same Bassett, cauled the secretory to hym, and refusing to utter his conferensye, strake of his hed in his pryvat lodginge and the terrytorie of another state; which displesantly taken, provoked the practise, as semeth, for his delyvery, so farre fourth as the Sophi hathe nowe offred to sende him to the father agayne as prysoner. The manner of theire imprisonment is in a cage.

The nowe Bishoppe of Rome || hath emprysoned upp dyvers Collonnas, the cardinalls, kynsmen to the late bishoppe,

* After the Spanish fleet under the Duke of Medina Celi had been defeated, the Turks laid siege to the fort Gerba, which was held by Don Alvaro de Sande. When no succour arrived, Alvaro and his garrison in despair attempted to force their way through the enemy, but were nearly all slain. Alvaro was sent prisoner to Constantinople, but was liberated by a treaty of peace.

† The King of Persia.

‡ Bajazet.

§ Solyman, to whom historians give the title of 'the magnificent.'

|| Pope Pius IV. (Angelo de Medecis). It was the custom among the English Protestants at this time to call the Pope the *bishop of Rome*.

and others his favorites for their olde synnes and outragious dealings in tyme of abuse of there greetnes and authoritie.

I have been a trewaunde a good tyme, moche absent from courte, at least for attendannce daylie, and so hope uppon collour of this progresse to get me downe into Suffolk. Thus I take my leve of your Lordshippe, prayinge God to sende the same al things prosperouse. From Grenewiche, the 25th of July, 1560.

Even nowe came hether one of th'admeraltie, which attended the fleet dispersed from Lythe, amongst others conductors of the Frenche, who saieth they are four thousande in number, able soldyours.*

Your Lordshipp's humbly to command,

W. HONNYNG.

LORD CLINTON TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My good Lord, I do moste hartely thank you for the fayer goshawk which your Lordship sent me by your botlar. I wold I had some mete present to send your Lordship that myght do you pleasure in your parts. I wyll send your Lordship a copyll of spanyells, for your botlar tells me your Lordship wold have some sent you by your frends here.

The newes here are no other then such as your Lordship had lately from me, saving that all things is discharged in Scotland, and my Lord of Norfolk's grace is sent for by the Quene's Majestie to come to the courte, where he is loked for to be within six dayes. The French that were the commissioners in Scotland ar retourned into France, and have ben at the courte in ther way; that is to say, Monsieur de Zaudant, Monsieur la Brosse, the Byshop of Amyans, and the

* There is another sentence in the original, written by Honning's own hand, but which it is impossible to understand.

Byshop of Valans. Ther went by see, Monsieur Martigens * and Monsieur d'Oysell, who were landyd at Calleys by ships of this realme by the Quene's Majestie's appoyntment, but at their own chardges, and thre thousand fyve hundred soldyeres in ther company. At their landing they made the English captens and other gret chere, and gave chaynes to som and to som cowpps of sylver and gilt, with gret show of good-wyll. Bot I trust them never the better, for whensoever they may fynd advantage, they wyll not lose it, and therefore the Quene's Majestie wyll so provyde as their presences shal be well inough prevented.

I am advertised that five French ships of Dyepe and Newhavyn, ladyn with wyne and sak and other swete wyne, are gon to make sale therof in Irland, which wyne were the provisions for the see made for the French kyng's ships; and now upon this peace, they sell them. If ther meyning in Ireland be bot to sell their wyne without other devys or practys, then is no matter of ther going, as I take. If ther be other meynyng, I am sure your Lordship wyll understand it well.

As I shall here anything out of France, I will advertise your Lordship. Thus with my most harty commendations to your Lordship and my good Lady of Sussex, I beseech God send you both long lyff in moche honor. From the courte at Farnham, the 8th of August, 1560.

Your Lordship's assured to command,

E. CLYNTON.

W. HONNING TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

After humble and due remembraunce to your good Lordshipp, the same maye please t'understand that my long silence hath proceded through absence in the countrey, whereof I signified your Lordship by my last letters. Th'hole of

* Count Martiques, "of the house of Luxembourg," commander of a party of French soldiers who came to Scotland in Jan. 1559-60.

my truandise I enjoyed not in countreye, for that I was awhile occupied about patching of a howse in London, which I late procured for a good terme of oon Mr. Smith and his wief, persons of sixty yeres of age the pece: these their grete yeres emboldened me to promesse unto them by their incessant provocations yerelie a buck and doe for their lives only, not daring to t'adventure th'hole terme of the lease.

My happ this yere hath been ill *in ipso limine impigere*, moche to my discredit and breche of covenant, for where I had made request to your Lordshippe's keper at Lexdon * present myselfe to satisfye that turn, and had formerlye twice wrytten to Woodham Water,† where I founde aunswer at a second sending insufficiencie for the bareness of the game. I was also utterlie denied at Lexdon aforesaid uppon pretence of bareness of that ground, (the contrarye whereof myn own eyes gave testimonye,) insomuch as perplexed for the latenes of the yere, I was driven to returne the flat waye to my wief to London, who ther uppon wished your Lordshippe in England. with hope that rather then bothe our creditts shuld have been stayned, th'age of the persons considered, we shuld not have despayred to have atteyned certentie of warrant for them.

I went so near the winde with the keper, that I told hym your Lordshippe knewe I wold in reason respecte the game as fully as he, and prayed to have a barren doe to be then killed by good woodmanshipp, (which he semeth to lacke,) t'excuse my promesse. And that also was flatly made impossible. Thus to please my wieff's fantasies, I trouble your Lordshippe with myself and her causes.

Nowe to matier of more accompte. It maye like your Lordshipp, that I founde this bearer in corte uppon my

* Lexden, in Essex.

† Woodham Walters, in Essex, formerly a possession of the Fitz-Walter family. It came into the family of the Earl of Sussex by marriage in the fifteenth century, and was the family seat at this time. "In his time the ancient family seat in this parish began to be neglected; for, having obtained a grant of New Hall in Boreham, he made it the place of his residence." (*Morant.*) The earl built the present church of Woodham Walters in 1563 and 1564.

soden arrivall. By hym I ment to scribe a few lines. I have remembered hym to bring the proclamation and devyses touching the decree of our base moneys, which is now our greatest occupation, to satisfie the people with knowledge of the difference of the coynes.* Th'erle of Salopp† is lately ded. Happy for the new Earle that the father toke not that Lady to wief who (yf your Lordshipp remember) you did in the closett of Westminster decerne to like well to here herself speake. His office of chamberlayn of the exchequier I think will be bestowed on Mr. Secretary. Hitherto not knowen who shal be President and Justice of the foure shiers beyond Trent. This sayd berer seeth the corte stuffed with morners, yea, many of the better sorte

* During the preceding reigns the coinage had been extremely debased. One of Elizabeth's most popular acts, at this time, was the reformation of the money. "To Queene Elizabeth," saith Camden, "it is to be ascribed, that there hath beene better and purer money in England, than was seene in two hundred yeeres before, as hath beene elsewhere in use throught all Europe." See Camden; and also a curious letter on the subject in Lodge, i. 345. Simon, in his Essay on Irish Coins, has preserved the following fragment of a popular ballad made in consequence :

"Let bone-fires shine in every place,
Sing and ring the bells a-pace,
And pray that long may live her grace,
To be the good queene of Ireland.

"The gold and silver which was so base,
That no man could endure it scarce,
Is now new coyn'd with her own face,
And made go current in Ireland."

† Francis Talbot, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury. He had two wives. Very soon after the death of the second, he made an overture of marriage to the Lady Pope, widow of the founder of Trinity College, Oxford, "but the etiquette of courtship in those days required more time than could be spared by two lovers whose united years made somewhat more than a century, and the good old earl was arrested by death when perhaps he had not made half his advances."—*Lodge*.

in degree, for the Lord Robert's wieff,* who was, upon the mischancing death, buried in the hed church of th'university of

* This was Amy Robsart, the daughter of Sir John Robsart of Devonshire, according to Dugdale, and celebrated as the heroine of Kenilworth. Whether the story of her murder be true or not, it is now impossible to determine, though it cannot be denied that appearances are much against the innocence of her husband, Lord Dudley. In some letters written at the time of her death, which have already been printed, there are allusions to the suspicion which then prevailed, and some short time afterwards we find Cecil speaking of him as still "defamed by his wife's death." We find the charge of murder first publicly urged against Leicester in the celebrated libel called "Leicester's Commonwealth," printed in 1584.—"First," says the author of that tract, "his lordship hath a speciall fortune, that when he desireth anie woman's favour, then what person soever standeth in his way, hath the luck to die quicklie for the finishing of his desire. As for example: when his lordship was in full hope to marrie her majestie, and his own wyfe stooode in his light, as he supposed: he did but send her asid, to the house of his servaunt Forster of Cumner by Oxforde, where shortlie after she had the chaunce to fal from a paire of staires, and so to breke her neck, but yet wythout hurting of her hooide that stooode upon her heade. But Sir Richarde Varney, who by commaundement remayned wyth her that daye alone, wyth one man onlie, and had sent away perforce al her servauntes from her, to a market two myles of, he (I saye) wyth his man can tel how she died, which man being taken afterward for a felonie in the marches of Wales, and offering to publish the maner of the said murder, was made away privilie in prison. And Sir Rychard himself dying about the same tyme in London, cried piteouslie, and blasphemed God, and said to a gentleman of worship of myne acquaintance not long before his death, that al the divels in hell did teare him in peeces. The wife also of Bald Buttler, kinsman to my L., gave out the whole facte a litle before her death."

Ashmole, in the account of Cunmor given in his Berkshire, makes some additions to the foregoing account, which he gathered from the tradition of the neighbourhood. He says that "the inhabitants will tell you there that she was conveyed from her usual chamber where she lay, to another where the bed's head of the chamber stood close to a privy postern door, where they in the night came and stifled her in her bed, bruised her head very much, broke her neck, and at length flung her down stairs, thereby believing the world would have thought it a mischance, and so have blinded their

Oxford. The cost of the funerall esteemed at better then two thousand poundes.

The fort and territory about Jerby, I understand, is evicted from the possession of King Phillipp by the Turke.

William Drury* is absolutely delivered, and shortly to mary with the Lady Williams† of Tame. Th'other brother for one degree hath the libertie of fleete and accesse of his frends.

A grete man in Spayn, ‡ *incerto nomine* hitherto to my knowledge, is said to be in prison by the vehemencie of th'inquisition, and Don Anthonio de Toledo sent to Fraunce to dissuade a nationall counsayll there ment for matier of religion.

Thus for the present I shall ende, beseeching your Lordship to receyve in good parte my poore scribling. From Hampton Courte, 6th Octobris, 1560.

Your Lordship's humbly to command,

W. HONNYNG.

We have no certentie of th'arryval of the King of Sweden, yet doth his ambassador persuade his former arereynes.

villany." He then tells us that she was first buried privately, but at the desire of her father disinterred, and an inquest held over her, and then that her body was buried magnificently in St. Mary's church at Oxford. This story of her first interment seems discountenanced by the present letter.

* Sir William Drury was of a good family settled at Hawstead in Suffolk. In 1575 he was lord president of Munster, and he died in 1598, lord deputy of Ireland.

† Margery, daughter of Thomas, Lord Wentworth, second wife of John, Lord Williams of Thame. He died in 1559.

‡ The Archbishop of Toledo?

AMY DUDLEY TO MR. FLOWERDEN, ESQ. THE ELDER.*

Mr. Flowarden, I understand by Gryse that you put hym in remembrance of that you spake to me of concernyng the goyng of sertayne shepe at Syscome, and althowe I forgot to mouve my Lorde therof before his departing, he being sore trubeled with wayty affares, and I not beyng alltogether

* This letter, in the handwriting of the unfortunate Amy Robsart, mentioned in the last, is preserved along with another by her husband also addressed to Mr. Flowerden, (perhaps Flowerdeu,) in a volume of letters collected by Le Neve, in the Harleian MSS. It is without date, and is only inserted here on account of its connexion with her name. Lodge, following Dugdale, has incorrectly called this lady *Anne*, an error which no doubt originated from misreading a MS., where it was written *Amie*. The Amy Robsart here, busy about the affairs of her husband's household, is another character from the Amy Robsart of Sir Walter Scott. Indeed, the concealed marriage of Leicester with Amy Robsart is but a romantic fiction. This marriage took place in 1550, and was celebrated at the palace of Sheen with great splendor.

Kenilworth, however, is not one of the most excellent of Scott's romances, if we look upon it in an historical light. It owes to history only the names of its heroes, and in some measure their characters. Amy Robsart died in 1560, when Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the personages of the romance, born about 1552, was only eight years old, and about which time Dudley, not yet Earl of Leicester, aspired to the hand of the queen. The plot of the romance is laid in the year of the grand visit to Kenilworth, in 1575, after he had given up all prospects of marriage with the queen, and when he had another wife, whom the next year he repudiated in order to marry the widow of the unfortunate Earl of Essex. The great "variance" between the Earls of Sussex and Leicester, when they were reconciled in the Queen's presence, occurred in 1565. Wayland is introduced quoting a passage from Shakspeare's *Tempest*, which is believed not to have been written before 1612, or even 1613. The poet was not born till 1564, so that at the visit to Kenilworth he would be but eleven years old. Thus circumstances, and allusions to circumstances, which happened at different periods from 1560 to 1612, are reduced within the space of the year 1575, presenting a succession of anachronisms such as is scarcely allowable even in a romance.

ther in quyet for his soden departyng, yet notwithstanding, knowing your accustomed freyndshipe towardes my Lorde and me, I nether may nor can deney you that request in my Lorde's absence of myne owne awtoritye, yea and yt wer a greater matter, as yf any good occasion may serve you, so trye me; desyryng you furder that you will make sale of the wolle so sone as is possible, although you sell it for sixe shillings the stone, or as you wolde sell for yourself; for my Lorde so ernystly required me at his departyng to se thosse pore men satisfied as thowghe it had bene a matter depending upon lyff; wherfore I force not to sustayne a lyttel losse therby, to satisfye my Lorde's desyr; and so to send that mony to Grysse's howse to London, by Brydwell, to whom my Lorde hathe geven order for the payment therof. And thus I ende allwaye trobelyng you, wyshyng that occasyon serve me to requite you; untill that tyme I most pay you with thanks. And so to God I leve you, from in Heydes,* this 7 of Auguste.

Your assured duringe lyff,

AMYE DUDLEY.

SIR NICHOLAS THROGMORTON† TO SIR THOMAS CHAMBERLAYN.‡

My Lord Ambassadeur, the 29th of October last, I wrote to you from Paris by the waye of Monsieur de Chantonet, the King Catholic's ambassadeur here in this court, and therwith sent you a packet from the Quene's Majestie and other particular letters, as from my L. Robert Dudley, my

* Lord Dudley dates his letter to Mr. Flowerden "from Hays."

† In the original there is no signature to this letter, but it seems evidently written by Throgmorton, the ambassador in France.

‡ Sir Thomas Chamberlayn was sent as ambassador Ledger to the court of Philip II., after that king's return to Spain. He was the son of William Chamberlayn, of Prestbury, in Gloucestershire, and had been employed in various foreign negotiations by Hen. VIII. and Ed. VI. He died in 1580.

Lady Marques of Northampton, my Lady Clynton, and Mr. Secretary, with certen buttons and gloves, mentioned in the said letter. All which I trust are come to your hands.

And wher you complaine of your slowe hearing out of England ; I mervail not moche, though you (being so farr of) be kept fasting, wher I that am within a kenning cannot hear from thense sometime (and most often) in a monethe or six weeks. It is the pleasure that men have that walke our fortune, but in the meantyme smaller service to our mestres often tymes ensueth thereof.

As to some of your letters, miscarried as you thinke : suche of yours as have from tyme to tyme come to my handes, I have caused to be as safely delivered as myne own. As I do allways advertise you by my letters of the receipt of any from you, and their sending into England, and lykewise name particularly as many as I receyve from home to be sent to you. And because you may know that I do so : I do always use to make recitall in my next ensueing letters of the same agayne and of the messengers, to th' intent that you may well perceyve whether they miscarry or not, and at whose hands to demand them. Whiche way yf you would commande your secretary to use for you, then shuld I knowe whether all suche letters as you wryte, and send to me, come to my handes or no, and the want thereof, and so of suche other, as you send by any other waye.

And whereas by my said letters I wrote unto you of the coming hither of the Lord of St. Johne of Jerusalem, of Scotland, sent from the nobilitie and people of Scotland, to performe such things in the name of them all as were articulated and accorded upon in their late treaty,* made betwene the commissioners of this side and them : and also thereupon to demand of this King and Quene the ratification of the said agreement : according to his commission and instructions :

* The treaty of Edinburgh, by which the French soldiers were to be withdrawn from Scotland.

the cōpyes whereof I send you herewith that you may well understand the same, and procede the more soundly therin, whensoever you shall have occasion moved you. The said Lord of St. John's hathe bene with the said Princes, with whom he hathe proceded according to his directions, and hathe demanded the ratification. At his first cominge he was moche made of, and many thinges promised him; but after a few days not so moche. To the demande of the Frenche King and Quene's ratification of the treaty, answer was made him, that for as moche as the Scottes had in no parte performed that that belonged to good subjects, but had assembled themselves upon their owne authoritie, without consent of the King and Quene their soveraignes: the same treaty ought not to be regarded, and therefore they wold not ratifye it. The further reasons why, they wold not tell hym, but concluded that the King and Quene wold send two gentlemen into Scotland, to declare their griefs and raisons why they thought not mete to ratifye the said accord. And so he standeth upon his depeche awaye from hence homeward with this answer. Among other things these Princes here are not a little grieved that suche a solempn legation is sent into England, and that there is but one sent hither, and he in post! There are come into England from th' estates of Scotland, the Erles of Morton* and Glencarn, and the Lord of Ledington, to visit her Majestie, and to geve her thanks; whiche is the legation that is above spoken of. Another reason that they find why they are not bound to ratifye the said Scottishe treaty is, that the same was made with suche and of suche as were rebells, and bare armes agenst their soveraigns, and therefore not to be observed; and that his commission and instructions were subscribed by the same rebells, and of fewe of their good subjects. And yet the fewe names of suche fewe good subjects as were set to, were not of their owne hands, but counterfaited by other. Among other, these

* James Douglas, fourth Earl of Morton, one of the most famous names in the history of these turbulent times.

fryvolouse devices were founde out to refuse them their ratification.

About the tyme of this said Ambassador's negotiation about these matters, I receyved letters from the Quene's Majestie, with commandement to demande eftsones of this King and Quene their ratification of the late treaty made allso in Scotlande, betwene her Majestie and the French Commissioners, whiche had beene before delayed, for that the Scotts (these men said) had then yet sent nobody to performe things on their behalves. The Scottishe Ambassadeur therefore having bene at the court, and done his legation, upon whose coming was all our staye, and therefore I hoping to have no further delaye therein, I resorted to the King and performed myne instructions and commandement, in renewing the demande of the said ratification of our treaty. Answer was made me bothe by the Kinge and Quene, the Cardinal of Lorreyne, and Duke of Guyse, in the same sort as had bene made before to the Lord of St. John's. Adding therto, that forasmuche as our treaty depended upon the Scotts' treaty, and because the Scotts had not performed all things on their parte: lyke as the King was not bound nor ought to ratifie a treaty made by his subjects without the consente of their soveraigne, specially their not observing their duties of obedience towards hym promised therein: so was there no cause the King should ratifie ours, tyll the Scotts had performed all thinges on their behalfe. And so they have plainly refused to ratifie our said treaty, and spared not to utter, in good tearmes, that the Scotts must be taught to know their duties, and to assemble in their soveraignes' names, and not in their owne, as though they wolde make it a republic. And that rather then the King will suffer these disorders, he will quitte all. They stick nowe moche upon a league that is betwene the Quene's Majestie and the realme of Scotland. And till that be broken, (which I trust is not meant to be,) I perceive they will be at no better point with us.

As for the leaving the bearing of the Quene's Majesty's

armes, whiche they use yet still in open shewes and entries of townes, whereof was spoken at this audience, and told that by the said treaty the King shuld leave so to do: that was answered that till a treaty be ratifyed it is no treaty: and therefore ther is no reason why the King and Quene shuld sooner satisfie then be satisfied. And that the Kinge hathe borne the armes of longe tyme, and not without reason and title to do so. And that therefore ther is no cause why he shuld leave his right. These, with dyvers lyke purposes sounding all to be deffences and cavellations not to ratifie our treaty, were used to me at this last negotiation. Wherein I could not alter their moodes for any allegations nor objections that I could use, but rather understand their entents of revenge, then wyll to quietnes. It is strange to see howe litle princes of honour passe for their promesses and authentick obligations. In the Frenche Kinge and Quene's commission given to Messieurs de Valence and Randan,* they promised *bona fide et verbo regio* to performe and ratifie all that his deputies shuld agree upon: as you may se by the same: the coppie whereof I also send you herewith.

These Scottes that the Frenche King and Quene make exceptions unto, are the very same that th'acorde and agreement were made with nowe at Edinbrough.

These doings, my Lord Ambassadeur, are farre from the termes that we were in, when our men were before Lyth, and our navy strong on the sea. There can be no evident declaration of meanings and these men's intents (when tyme and meanes will serve) to put us in remembrance of things past, unlesse they shuld have bidd me to have retired myselfe hence indeede.

The Frenche King, as I heere, hathe advertised the King of Spayne how he ment to procede with the Scotts in these his answers; and the matter verie moche engreved of late by the Bishop of Lymoges the French Ambassadeur ther.

* Charles de la Rochfoucault, Sieur de Randan, one of the Commissioners sent into Scotland.

And among other things the said Ambassadeur hathe required the King Catholick's advise howe to procede with the saide Scotts, to make them come to their dueties and obedience. I heere that the King Catholick hathe therupon desyred to knowe of the Frenche whether they mynde to procede against them by way of force or otherwise: and knowing that, he will say his opinion. And he sayd further, that he thought it not mete the Frenche shuld so go to the matter by forces, as therby they might geve occasion of suspicion of other evel intents to their neighbours. These solicitations of the Frenche Ambassadeur with the King Catholick, as I heere, have bene earnest at one side; and the Spanishe Ambassador here laboureth as fast to knowe these men's determinations how they minde to procede with Scotlande on th'other side, who, as I here, hathe bene partly answered here, that this King mindethe not to procede upon the Scotts by force, yf by any other meanes they maye wyne them to their duties and obedience to their Soveraignes.

And for that the Frenche may perhappes insence the King Catholick of the matter and procedinge of Scotland, to their advantage, and otherwise then the truethe beareth, and for that you may knowe the very truethe of the proceedings with them and with us indeed, I thought very necessarye for your knowledge and the Quene's Majesty's service and for the truethe's sake to wryte to you thus muche, and to send you presently a true cobby of the treaty late made betweene the realme of Scotland and the Frenche, for I take it that you had it not truely before. And also a true cobby of the said Lord of St. John's commission and instructions. And to let you knowe also howe the said Lord of St. John's hathe proceeded for his ratification, and what answer he had; and also of my long delaye ever sins the first of September for the ratification of ours, being allwaies promised that it shuld be performed; and nowe have receyved this cassade at their handes. But these that they send into Scotland to answer the Scotts to their matters, shall also

go to the Quene's Majestie and declare unto her their further reasons of these their refusalls.

The Quene's Majestie signified lately unto me, that her pleasure was you shuld have knowledge hereof, whiche I thought good to send youe nowe from hence, by her Highnes's commandement, rather then you shuld tary for the same out of England; and the rather also for that the Frenche labour the matter apace with the Kinge of Spayne, as I heere. You may take knowledge of all these proceedings as come from the Quene's Majestie, and so geve the same truely t'understand to the said King Catholic at good length, with all the circumstances to be, by his wise and grave judgment and good amitye, betwixt the Quene's Majestie and him, uprightly considered: and the Frenche's dissemblinge and notorious promesse-breakinge so manifestly seene, together with their intents to have to do with the Scotts for revenge, whatsoever is given him t' understand to the contrary: wherin our parte is lyke to be, for that they have so openly declared themselves, bothe by refusall to geve the ratification, and by so boldlye maynteyning and deffending their usurpation of th'armes of England, and saye they have right and title therunto.

The men that were named unto me shuld be sent out of hand first to the Quene's Majestie to satisfie her, and afterwarde to the nobilitie and people of Scotland, are Messieurs de Noailles, that was last Ambassadeur in England, and Le Croc the King's *panetier*. And because you shall se with what hast they minde to sende them, Monsieur de Noailles is gone hence to Bordeaux to put his things in order there, and so to come back agayne to the courte, and then on his journey. This is a good meaning and dealing of Princes that pretend to great amytie, and yet their wordes muste be beleavid.

If the Scottes have not done their duties (as it is but cavilling to denye it) what hathe the Quene's Majestie to do withall. She hathe made a treaty with the commissioners of the

Frenche King and Quene, being authorised therunto : and in the same the Frenche King is bound by expresse articles to ratifie it within sixty dayes without any exception or promesse to let it.

The Frenche Kinge hath alwayes acknowledged it and promised to ratyfye it. In th' ende he hathe not nor will not do it. And so hathe rejected the Scotts too. He threateneth to punishe the Scotts. And therefore seing he putteth us thus together, we must nedes loke to be measured at their handes with lyke measure, yf they can fynd how to do it.

To conclude with you, I have advertised the Quene's Majestie by my letters of the 17th of this moneth by Mr. Jones, whom I have depeched to her Majestie, of all these proceedings. Howe the matter wil be taken, I knowe not, but, as I judge, not the best. As I shall heare from thence thereof, you shal be advertised. In the meantyme I trust you will so handle the matter as the Frenche do not carrye away the Kyng of Spayne, with their devises and persuasions of untruethes in these matters, whiche I leave to your good and assured judgment and order, whereof and of your doings I praye you let me heare, as you maye.

The 19th of this present I receyved another letter from you of the thirde of the same, brought by Caubon, but not delyvered me by him, for he was gone through towards Flaunders, and sent it back agayne to the Spanishe Ambassadeur to be delyvered unto me, as th'excuse was made. I pray you thank Monsieur de Champenon for his sure addresse of your letters to my handes by his brother Monsieur de Chantonet th'ambassadeur's meanes.

As for the molesting of your cooke, notwithstandinge the gentle answer of that King, I marvell not a litle thereat.*

* The King of Spain, at the instigation, as is said, of the Conde de Feria, had caused the English ambassador's cook to be seized upon by the officers of the Inquisition as charged with heresy. In the Cotton MS. Vespas. C. vii. fol. 133, is preserved the original letter of

And though I be here in a place as evell lokyd upon as anye occupying this place of good tyme hath ben, yet I am not troubled for these matters. I thynke it be rather to feare you, then for anye meaninge to infringe th'ancient privileges of Ambassadeurs in those cases, or els I trust lyke measure wyl be measured to those whiche occupie lyke charge in England.

This gentleman bearer hereof, a Portugall of nation, servant to the Quene catholick, preferred to her in a place of a gentleman servant by Ruy Gomez, I do recommend unto you. I have known hym a good while; he was Secretary to this Ambassadeur of Portugall. You wyl lyke him well. Yf you can be well acquainted with him, you will take pleasure in him, and be otherwise glad of his company who may also stande you in steade.

I praye you let him knowe of my recommending him to you. And in case you se suche doubtfull tearmes betwixt the King of Spayne and us, whereby you may doubt the safe going of your letters into England or to me, this gentleman can helpe you in such nede to convey them safely unto my hands. Though he be the Quene of Spayne's servant, yet he beareth that affection towards the Spanyards that all Portugueses do.

You are very scarce in your letters of your advertisements and occurrents of that court. I praye you amende your hand therein from henceforthe.

This King thought to have removed hence for a fortnight, but the daye before his intended journey, he felt himselfe somewhat evill disposed of his body, with a payne in his head and one of his eares, whiche hathe stayed his removing from hence.

And thus, &c. from Orleans, the 21st of November, 1560.

Chamberlayn to the Queen, relating his proceedings in this affair, and the firm and manly remonstrances which he had made against this breach of his privileges as ambassador of a foreign power.

SIR NICHOLAS THROGMORTON* TO LORD ROBERT DUDLEY.

It may lyke your good Lordshippe, lately I receavyd from Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, her Majestie's ambassadeur in Spayne, a packet of letters, wherin I think ther be some of your Lordshippe's, answering those of yours which I sent him before, together with two litle malletts, conteyng such things, I suppose, as her Majestie and you sent for. He required me to addresse his packet of letters and portmanteaus to my lady his wife, who shuld take order with one and other, according to his direction.

Sence the deathe of the late King,† things proceade here in suche sorte, as those that were worst affected to the Quene's Majestie, and most desirous to trouble her realme, shall not have so good and ready meanes to excuse their malice, as they had in the late King's tyme.

And yet, my Lord, this I trust shal be no occasion to make her Majestie lesse considerate, or her counsell lesse provident, for assuredlie the Quene of Scotland, her Majestie's cosen, dothe carrye herselfe so honorably, advisedlie, and discretelye, as I cannot but feare her progresse. Me-thinketh it were to be wished of all wyse men and her Majestie's good subiects, that the one of these two Quenes of the ile of Brittainne were transformed into the shape of a man, to make so happie a marriage, as therbie ther might be an unitie of the hole ile and their appendances. Whosoever is conversant in storyes, shall well perceave estats hath by no one thing growen so greate, and lastyd in their greatnes, as by mariages, which have united countrys that do confyne together.

* This letter is also without signature, but it is evidently written by the same person who wrote the preceding.

† Francis II., the husband of Mary of Scotland, died on the fifth of December, 1560.

The profe thereof is notoriously seene by the house of Austeriche, in whose handes the one halfe of Europe, being Christenyd, is at this daye, whiche is come to passe by marriage only. Their first ancestor was not many yeres ago a meane counte of Habsbourge in Swiserland. And as they have come to this greatnes by this meanes, so dothe that race retayne still that principle to mayntayne their greatnes, and to increase it. And that I beleve your Lordship shall se well verified by the bestowing of the prince of Spayne, and the emperor's children in marriage.

My Lorde, lately here arrived from thence Monsieur de Morette, that was sent in legation from the Duke of Savoye to the Quene's Majestie, whiche in my simple opinion was evill forgotten, that he had no present. A newe discourtesie shewed to him and to his master by him, that was never used in my tyme to any prince or prince's minister. The honor that his master did to her Majestie did, in my simple opinion, deserve good acceptation; and the gentleman's negotiation and good affection to do her Majestie honour did deserve ordynarie courtoisie. Since his retorne to this courte, he hathe made so good reports of her Majestie, of her councell, and all her ministers, as he deserveth not to be forgotten, nor to be unkindly handled. And therefore yf it wold please youre Lordshippe so to remember her Majestie's honor as to be a meane that the gentleman, whiche shall come hether to condole, might bringe the said Monsieur de Morrette a chayne of four or five hundred crownes from her Majestie, yt should well repaire all that is past, and your Lordshippe shuld wyne to yourselfe moche honour.

Thus I take my leave of your good Lordship from Orleouns, the last day of December, 1560.*

* On the death of Francis II., France lost one excuse for meddling directly in the affairs of Scotland, but that country did not change the inclination of meddling, and since the great cause of jealousy between France and Spain was taken away,—the marriage between

SIR GEORGE STANLEY* TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.†

Right honorable, my dutye premysed, your Lordship shall understande, that at the makinge hereof my good lady my Lady Justice, with all the reste of your frendes in these quarters, were in good healthe, thankes be unto God.‡ I am bolde to trouble your Lordship with these my letters, not for any greate matter that I have to certefye you, but in acknowledging my dutye and assured good will, which I wold be lothe to be conceived oblyvious of, as also being required by Mr. Wakeleye to write unto your Lordship in his behalfe concerninge his suytes which I knowe I have no neede to do, but to satisfie his requeste. As for newes, there is none, but all the sea quarters be in reste and peace, save onlye that I receavede this present daye a letter from O'Reeli, wherein he wrytt unto me that Shane O'Neele § was readye to enter into his coun-

Francis and Mary,—Elizabeth lost the advantages given her by the Spanish intrigues. Mary soon after resolved to return to Scotland. But her ultimate designs, and those of her French friends, were made apparent by her refusing, contrary to all justice, to sign the treaty of pacification agreed to by her commissioners at Edinburgh.

* Sir George Stanley, of Crosthall, in Lancashire, a younger brother of the Earl of Derby, was Marshall of Ireland.

† The Earl of Sussex had been deputy of Ireland in the reign of Queen Mary, and was continued by Elizabeth. Campion describes the Earl as “a spare man of body, but sound and healthfull, passing valiant, a deep reacher, very zealous in friendship, quicke in resolution of extremities in the field, wonderfull patient, able to tyre ten soldiours, learned and languaged, ever doing with his penne, of utterance sharpe and sententious, wary, busie, painefull, and speedie, meeter to rule than to be overruled.” Sussex is called in the Irish annals Thomas Fitz-Walter.

‡ The Earl of Sussex embarked for England at Howth on the 29th of January, 1560-1, and Sir William Fitzwilliams was sworn Lord Justice on the 2nd of February.

§ Shane (or John) O'Neil, the son of Con O'Neil, who had been created by Henry VIII, Earl of Tir-Owen, or Tyrone, had usurped

trye* with fourteen dayes victualles, and desiringe also in his letter ayde of me. As for my owne suytes and affayres there, my only hope, under God and the Quene's Majestie, hollie resteth in your Lordship, as knoweth the Lorde God ; who encrease you with mucche honor, and good successe in all your affaires, with spedy and safe retorne to your owne contentations.

From Tryme, the laste of Februarij, 1560.

Your Lord duryng lyfe to command,

GEORGE STANLEY.

CECIL TO RANDOLPH.

Sir, I have not much to wryte in the matter now men-

the property of his father and the sovereignty of his clan in opposition to the will of his father, who had appointed for his successor his other son Mathew, who was illegitimate, being the son, as Shane asserted, of a low woman, the wife of a smith at Dundalk. Shane had rebelled, and been reduced to obedience in Queen Mary's days.

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the turbulence of the Irish was increased by the attempt at introducing the reformed religion, and by the representation of the secret emissaries of Rome. Shane O'Neil took up arms, and in 1561, invaded the territory of his neighbour O'Reily, and compelled him to acknowledge his authority. Next he entered Tirconnel, seized and ravaged the lands of Callagh O'Donnel, threw O'Donnel himself into prison, and abused his wife, whom he retained till his death as his concubine. His brutality and excesses were without bounds. Sussex went against him, but, as it seems, not altogether successfully, until by the persuasions of the Earl of Kildare, his kinsman, O'Neil was induced to return to his obedience on very favourable terms to himself, and went to London to make his submission to the Queen in person.

* The county of Cavan, "otherwise called Breny Oneyle, or O'Relie's country." In the Act of Parliament for the attainder of Shane O'Neile and the extinguishing of the name of O'Neile, &c. (11th Eliz.) it is stated that "hee" (*Shane*), "entred first into Oneyle's countrie, and took hostages of him to be his man and at his commandement."

tioned in the Quene's Majesty's letters. Ye see our opinion here is that it shall doe much hurt in Scotland if the Quene* should come thither before thyngs be better established. To stay her is no better waye than that she and her friends in France maye fynd lack of conformytie there to the end purposed by her, which is to subvert the course of religion, and to withdraw the good will of hers hytherward; whether it be rightly judged of here or no I know not. I have uppon theis newes of her coming wished to have had but one houres conference with my Lord of Ledyngton. As yet I heare not of d'Oyzell's coming, but as the French Ambassador sayeth he is purposed to be here about the 8th July. Nowalleest† is past hence yesterdaye, somewhat disgraced, for the Quene's Majestye wold not speke with him, for that he sought not to see Her Majestye at his passadg into Scotland. Uppon the receipt of these letters, I pray you make me some answer, although it be but that ye cannot make any full answer. I send you such pamphletts as be here, and bid you well so farr, untill my better leasure. Methinketh, seeing the Lords of Scotland be not together, that it was well doone for two or three of the principall reteyning the Quene's Majestie's letter to send to all the rest some dispersed coppies of the letter, for I have so disposed it, it shall doe no hurt to be made publick. And so I end. From Grenewich, the 30th of June, 1561.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

It may please your Lordship, sence your departure I never heard from you, but by one letter from Holyheade. I fynd by letters from my Lord Justice, sent from thence before your

* Mary, who was now preparing for her return to Scotland.

† Nouailles.

passage over,* how unfortunately O'Donnell and the Countess of Argile † be taken by Shane.‡ I thynk surely there is

* The Earl of Sussex went over to Ireland on the 24th May, 1561, where he remained until the 16th of January following.

† It is not quite clear why this title is given to the wife of O'Donnel, for it must be of her that Cecil speaks. O'Carroll had a wing of the County of Cavan called Orgiel, which territory comprehended Oriel and Uriel. Was O'Donnel's wife of this family? Argile and Orgiel are probably the same place.

‡ According to the act for the attainder of Shane O'Neile, (11th of Elizabeth) before quoted, after Shane had made himself master of O'Reilly's Country, he "made a roode into Tirconeale and there by treachery and falshed took O'Donile a faithfull subject to your Majestie, his wife and his sonn and heire prisoners, and so cruelly handled the said O'Donil, that through duresse of imprisonments hee was compelled to yield up into his hands his holdes and castles, his plate and all his substance, and then putting him at libertie deteyned still the sonne in captivitie, and the wife he kept in carnall knowledge. Thus having O'Donil's countrey and people at commandement, he began to fortifie a strong iland in Tyrone, which for the strength and force of the place hee caused to bee called in despite Fooghnegall, which is as much as to say The Hate of Englishmen."

In the Annals of Innisfallen (MS. Translation in the library of Mr. Crofton Croker) the account of the taking of O'Donnell is thus related. "The Calvagh (i. e. Charles or Cahir) O'Donell was taken prisoner by O'Neil, (John,) on the 14th of May. Caffry Mac Manus, whose residence was upon Lough Beaghy, was at enmity with Calvagh. All the people of the country gathered about Conn the son of Calvagh, and stood watching for him by the barge on the border of the lane. Calvagh was then at Kill-otovrar, with very few men; being attended by some women, and bards. Some of the people of Tirconnell betrayed him to O'Neil in the following manner. Calvagh having no guard to protect him, took shelter in a monastery. As soon as O'Neil heard this, he went privately with a picked band, and, surrounding the place where Calvagh and his wife were, made them both prisoners. She was the daughter of Mc Clean. He then carried them to Tyrone, and kept O'Donell Calvagh in very close confinement, taking his wife to his own bed, by whom he had some children. It is very certain" adds the chronicler, "that it would have been a difficult matter to have taken Calvagh from the tribe of Conall, if he had not been betrayed in the manner above related."

some treachery therein. I beseche you have good regard therto, and, seing Shane thus useth the matter, I se severitie and terror must worke your victory. At this present, notwithstanding O'Donnell's takyng, I doo send unto you the robes and crownetts, which may be applied as your Lordship seeth cause.* You shall also at this tyme receive the Quene's Majesty's letters concerning the money. I am overruled in it with the opinion of the more, that this is the best waye, and therefore I pray your Lordship doo therein the best that you can, that some merchants there maye take into their hands the transportation. And I will, uppon knowledg thereof, procure that they may have commission to have ayde in the waye betwixt the sea-syde and London, and also speddy expedition here at the mynt. Here is presently no change of newes here. I have gyven order for the laying of the posts† according to your appoyntment, as this bearer shall shewe your Lordship, and so I take my leave.

* These rôbes and coronets were probably for distribution as rewards to the Irish chiefs who supported the English government. In 1541, O'Donnel requested the Lord Deputy (Sir Anthony St. Leger,) to ask the King of England to give him Parliament robes, which St. Leger recommended, adding that O'Donnel was furnished of other apparel better than any Irishman; "for at suche tyme as he mette with me he was in a cote of crymoisin velvet with agglettes of gold twenty or thirty payer; over that a greate doble cloke of rich crymoisin saten, garded with black velvet; a bonette with a fether sette full of agglettes of gold, that methought it strange to se him in so honorable an apparail, and all the rest of his nation, [*Sept*] that I have seen as yet, so vile." *MS. in State Paper Office.*

In the Sidney Letters, ii. 218, may be found a recommendation to the Queen to bestow a garment upon the wife of (Tirlough Linnagh) O'Neil.

† This is the first attempt at an establishment of a post between England and Ireland. Holinshed says, "And because in these troublesome times, it were meet advertisements should go from her Majestie and council to the Lord Deputie, and so likewise from his Lordship to them, order was taken, for the more speedie conveyance of letters reciproke, there should be set posts appointed betweene London and Ireland."

Your Lordship hath as I perceyve well provided for Mr. Vice-Chamberlayn and me that we shall not be troubled with suytes for any fee deere, in that you have alredie distributed them. And so I leave to trouble your good Lordship, wishing to the same from the bottom of my hert all good success.
19th June, 1561.

Your Lordship's at command,

W. CECILL.

Here included I send to your Lordship the weight of the coronetts and collers.

CECIL TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

It may please your good Lordship, my duety remembered, I was not so perplexed with lack of intelligence from your Lordship and that realme, at any tyme sence I served in this court.

I had no letter from you sence one of the date of the 23 of June. Here hath bene sprede foule rumors, and I mistrusted so much some will in scattering of them, that I was not so much discomforted with them as otherwise of necessite I ought to be. It is sayd, that Knockfarguss* is taken by Shane. It is sayd that your Lordship hath had a greate overthrow. Delves† to be slayne. You retyred. Owaylye‡ taken. Fynally all desperate;§ and hanging thus in these

* Carrickfergus.

† By the subsequent letter, 30th Nov. 1562, from the Bailiffs of Dundalk to the Earl of Sussex, Mr. Delves's band appear to have been stationed in that town.

‡ Offaly, now the King's County, and so called as Leix was called the Queen's County by Act of Parliament, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary. The instructions given to the Earl of Sussex in 1560, contained direction to build castles in Leix and Offaly, to reduce Shane O'Neal by force or otherwise, &c. Vide Cox i. 315.]

§ O'Neil had in fact, by the subjection of the native chieftains, increased very much his own power, and it is worthy of observation that then, as at all other times, the troubles of Ireland have been quite

termes, I still differed from daye to daye to send any letters, hoping suerly to have heard from your Lordship, but seing yet no letter coming from you, I could not dryve off tyme, but have thought mete to beseche you that howsoever fortune falleth there, to lett me know it.

My Lord of Kyldare* is verie earnest to returne, and her Majestie stayeth only to heare from you.

It may be that as sone as this letter shal be on the waye, I shall receive some knowledg from your Lordship.

I was yesterdaye at Woodham Waters,† a house suerly of goodly recept. We ar much troobled with grevouse complaints of pyracyes; and I thynk surely not without cause. And to remedy the matter there be devised, as your Lordship shall see, by a proclamation, certen articles which I send to your Lordship herwith. Yf you gyve some lyke order in that realme, it shal be very well doon. I thynk it is very nedefull in that realme.

Monser d'Oyzell came from the Scottish Quene, with re-

as much the result of the private ambition of the agitators, and the dissensions of petty chieftains, as of opposition to the English government. The Innisfallen Annals observe on this year, "O'Neill ransacked and plundered Meath and Breagh, he subdued Tirconnell, having still Calvagh O'Donnell prisoner, a weak and infirm man. At this time there was no governor in Tirconnell, and so O'Neill took the power to himself, and had under him all the province of Ulster, from Drogheda to Earne; so that he was, or might justly be called, a provincial prince, at that time, the English *alone* being against him."

* Gerald Fitz-Gerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare; "on the 7th of May, 1560," says Cox, "the Queen sent him (the Earl of Sussex) orders to perswade the Earl of Kildare to go to England; and that the Queen would lend him money in England on his bond; [this was probably for the expenses of his journey, should such be made matter of excuse, as the Earl appears by Sir W. Cecil's letter of the 21st of August, 1561, to have an unpaid debt to the crown of £500;] and if the Earl refused, then the Lord Lieutenant was to shew him the Queen's positive commands to that effect; and if he still declined the voyage, then the Lord Lieutenant was to apprehend him."

† See note on p. 44.

quest that the Quene his mistres might have a salve conduct to pass alongst our sea coast, and hymself to pass into Scotland to provide for her coming. Many reasons moved us to myslike her passadg, but this onely served us for answer, that where she had promised to send the Quene's Majestie a good answer for the ratification of the last leage of peace made in Edenburgh, and now had sent none, her Majestie wold not disguise with her, but playnely wold forbear to shew her such pleasure untill she shuld ratefy it, and that done, she shold not only have free passadg, but all helpes and gratuities. Monser d'Oyzell was also gently required, to returne with this answer.

What will follow we shall shortely see. This proceeding will lyke the Scotts well.

The Quene's Majestie is in helth, and still farr from mariadg, for aught that I can perceave. God send me speady hearing from your Lordship, and that also somewhat comfortable.

From New Hall,* the 25th of July, 1561.

Your Lordshipp's at command,

W. CECILL.

CECIL TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

It may please your good Lordship, your letter dated the last of July at Armagh, came to me the 8th of this month at Ipswich, with a letter to the Quene's Majestie. The reding

* The seat of the Earl of Sussex, in Essex. See note on p. 44. Cecil was with the Queen on a progress into Essex and Suffolk, by way of Wanstead, Havering, Pyrgo, New Hall, (where she was from the 21st to the 25th of July,) Colchester, St. Osyth's, Harwich, Ipswich, and so back by Smalbridge, Gosfield, Standen, Hartford, and Enfield. It was in this excursion that the Queen took offence at the slovenly manner in which the Church service was performed, and showed a feeling of dislike to the marriage of the clergy, which gave rise to an order against all resort of women to the lodgings of Cathedrals and Colleges. See Nares' *Burghley*, ii. 240, 241.

of yours, I assure your Lordship, so apauled me, that I had much a-doo to behave myself in sort to kepe close the depe greeff of my hart; my pryncipall greeff, for that my Lord of Penbrook being absent, I knew not one, no, my Lord, not one with whom to break my mynd, but ether it wold content them to here amiss of you, or of that matter. In the end, delyveryng to the Queene's Majesty your letter, I made of the matter a little byckeryng wherin, as it was true Shane, had the greatest loss.

I also scattered the matter abrode to be a playne overthrow of Shane's power, with the hurt of two or three captayns. The next daye my Lord of Kyldare had letters from my Lady his wiffe,* but my former occupyeng of men's heades, retarded the creditt of the report of those letters. God send your Lordship some better fortune, and methinketh you ought not to pass over that cowardness † without notable punishment, which so evidently endangered the whole matter. The Quene's Majesty I perceyve smelleth the offence, and sayth she thinketh you will not pass it over. I can not tell what your Lordship's former affection may doo, but I feare you shall have moo such parts, if ye pass over this with silence. I thynk by your next letters we shall see some determination of you therin, or else I wold be right sorry.

The 10th of this, at Ippswich, ‡ was a great mishapp dis-

* Mabel, 2nd daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, K. G.

† The action alluded to in this letter is probably the same as that described in the following extract from the MS. Annals of Innisfallen, "O'Neill sent some of the most faithful of his followers to keep O'Donnell from the hand of the Lord Deputy, by removing him from one island to another in the wilds of Tyrone. The Lord Deputy immediately sent out from his camp at Armagh, a company of captains with a thousand horse and foot to plunder Orgiall. O'Neill, informed of this by his spies, instantly pursued the plunderers, whom he found in possession of their spoil. He attacked them furiously, and, though he met with an obstinate resistance, and many fell on both sides, the spoil at last was left with the people of Orgiall."

‡ The Court was at Ipswich, from the 6th to the 10th of August.

covered. The lady Catharyne* is certainly knowen to be bigg with child, as she sayth, by the Erle of Hertford, who is in France. She is committed to the Towre. He is sent for. She sayth that she was married to him secretly before Christmas last.

Thus is God displeased with us. The Scottish Quene was the 10th of this month at Bulloyn, and meaneth to take shyping at Callise. Nether those in Scotland nor we here doo lyke her going home. The Quene's Majestie hath three ships in the north seas to preserve the fyshers from pyratts. I thynk they will be sorry to see her pass.†

My Lord of Penbrook is at his house now well amended. The Quene's Majestie doth well, thanked be God, although not well quieted with this mishapp of the lady Catharyne.

And so I take my leave, from Smallbridge, Mr. Walgrave's‡ house, the 12th of August, 1561.

Your Lordshipp's at command,

W. CECILL.

* Lady Catherine Grey, who had been secretly married to the Earl of Hertford, while the Queen was absent from court on a hunting party. Lord Hertford, immediately after the consummation of his marriage, went to France. On the discovery of her pregnancy, her husband, who had obeyed the summons to return, was sent to the Tower, as well as herself. Although confined apart, the Earl by some means or other obtained admission to his wife, who became, according to the peerage, the mother of three children by him. As they failed to bring witnesses of their marriage within a prescribed time, their marriage was declared null, and their children accordingly illegitimate. On the discovery of this intercourse while in confinement, Lord Hertford was fined by the Star-chamber fifteen thousand pounds, five for deflowering a virgin of royal blood, five for breaking his prison, and five for repeating the offence. See Ellis's *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. ii. pp. 272-290, for some interesting letters relating to this event.

† This, a confidential communication, is sufficient to overthrow entirely the imputation against Elizabeth and her minister, of having sent a fleet to intercept the Queen, which has been somewhat inconsiderately asserted. See also the instructions to the ships sent into "the narrow seas," printed in Haynes, p. 366.

‡ Edward Waldegrave, Esq. of Smallbridge in Suffolk, ancestor of

CECIL TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

It may please your good Lordship, your letters of the 8th of this month, sent by Sir William Fitzwilliams,† cam to the court with him on Tuesdaye last, being the 19th of this month. And uppon Wednesday, which was yesterday, cam by post your letters to hym and me, dated the 14th of this present. So as you may well judg how hard it was, and in many parts impossible, to address unto you such ayde as you required, with such spede as by your letters ye did specifye, which was by the 25th of this month.

I saw small disposition here to be at any new chardg, for that there appeared so hard fruit of the former. And lackyng my Lord of Penbrooke here, I was forced to take the burden uppon my shulders, and have induced the Quene's Majesty to address two hundred soldiors of the garrison of Barwyk, and to send away Sir Wm. Fitzwilliams with three thousand, as I trust he shall bryng.

As to any other chardg, I see her Majesty not to be induced, untill she may here agayne from your Lordship.

Here is some offence taken, that where so manifest an error was upon the sufferance of Shane's chardg, yet no example is made thereof. It bredeth in the Quene's Majesty's heade some furder judgment of the matter than I wold. For God sake, my good Lord, bestyrr you, and recover this mishapp as you maye. I assure you I have, as it becometh me, diverted all the fault uppon the faynt souldiors, and am suer that the judgment of your Lordship is nowise to you prejudiciall.

the present Earl of Waldegrave. He died on the 1st of September following, leaving two sons, both of whom we shall find a little later serving in Ireland. The Queen was at Smallbridge from the 11th to the 13th of August.

* Sir William Fitzwilliams was at this time treasurer under the Earl of Sussex. According to Campion, he was "a politicke and stoute gentleman."

I pray God that I may here well of James Maconele. The Erle of Argile* hath remayned in redynes all this yere, to herken whom you wold send to hym for ayde; and as I perceyve he imagyneth that your Lordship alloweth not his offer of frendshipp, it wer well doone that he shuld not conceyve mistrust. My Lord of Kildare cometh over by license. I mervaille he hath not payd the fyve hundred pound borrowed,† which your Lordshipp tooke uppon you shuld be payd to the tresoror a good while past. The Scottish Quene passed by sea into Scotland the 19th of this month, and hath with her the Duke d'Aumale, Marquis d'Elboeuff, Grand Prior, and Monsieur d'Ampvile. These two retorne through this realme within thirty days. She hath no soldiors nor trayne, but a few household. She meaneth to committ herself to the trust of her owne. From Gosfeld,‡ the 21 of August, 1561.

Your Lordship's at command,

W. CECILL.

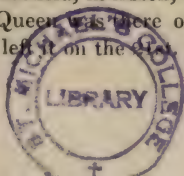
THOMAS RANDOLPH TO CECIL.

I receaved your letters the fyrste of this instant, and such other as came in the same paquett. I delivered the same daye the Quene's Majesty's letter unto this Quene, and sent her Grace's answer unto our soveraigne herewith. I have wrytten unto the Quene's Majestie th'effect of all suche purposes as she had with me at two sondrye tymes, which tendeth to no other in wordes then amytie and peace. Your Honour can

* Archibald Campbell, fifth Earl of Argyll, a partizan of Mary, and enemy to the English. We shall find him treating for some time with O'Neal, and at last leaguings with him.

† See note on Cecil's letter to Sussex, of 25th July, 1561, p. 66.

‡ Gosfield, in Essex, was at this time a mansion of the Rich family. The Queen was there on the 19th and 20th of August, and seems to have left it on the 21st.



best judge of the lykelyhoode. Your Honour, as in the beginnunge of your laste letter, greeved that you had no knowledge from me of the Quene's arrival,* but from Berwicke. I assure your Honour, yf you had not two lettres that bore date the 19th of August, both you and I are deceived, for I am assured that I wrote one in the morninge, upon the fyrste assurance that she was in the gallies, and one in the after-none, two howers after she was landed, which I am sure came safely unto Mr. Valentine Browne's handes. I wold be lothe other men shold tayke the fruit of my travaile, as the Lord of Lidingeton can wytnes how I was once served in letters that shold have come to your handes. This I thought good to wryte, that your Honour maye knowe that I feare rather that I trouble you too oft, then that I leave anye thinge unwrytten that I judge my dutie chargeth me to make you privie of.

Were your Honour exhorteth us to stowtenes, I assure you the voyce of one man is able in one hower to putt more lyf in us then five hundred trompettes contynually blusteringe in our eares. Mr. Knox spoke upon Tuesday unto the Quene. He knocked so hastelye upon her harte, that he made her weep, as well you knowe ther be of that sexe that wyll do that as well for anger as for greef, though in thys the Lord James wyll disagree with me. She charged hym with his book,† with his severe dealinge with all men that disagreed with hym in opinions. She wylled hym to use more meeknes in his sermons. Some thyngs he spake unto hyr contentation in myttigatyng the rigour of his book, and in some things he pleased her verie lyttle; in speciall spekinge agaynst the masse, he declared the greevous plagues of God that had

* Mary Queen of Scots arrived in Scotland on the 19th of August, 1561.

† His book against "The monstrous regimen of women;" which had embarrassed him not a little with Elizabeth as well as with Mary.

fallen upon all estates for commyttynge of idolatrye. He concluded so in th'ende with her, that he hath libertie to speake frelie his conscience, to gyve unto her suche reverence as becometh the mynister of God unto the superior powers. He prayethe and hathe daylie prayde for her as the preachers were wonte to praye for Quene Marie, etc. The brute that he hathe tawlked with the Quene maketh the Papists dowte what wyll become of the worlde. Yt lyketh not them well that I resort so ofte unto the courte. I have byn there thrice since Sondaye. But of all they marvell most what traffic the Lord of Lidingeton maketh with yowe. She herselfe hathe founde three poyntts necessarie to mayntayne her state; fyrst to make peace with England; next to be served with the Protestantes: in th'other she fyndethe not that that she looked for.* The thyrde is to enryche her crowne with the abbye landes. Which three if she do, what shall ther lack in her (saveinge a good howsebonde) to leade a happie life.† Seinge your Honour hathe one with you, with whom you can consyder these things better then I cann wryte of them, I leave them to your judgements, and tawlke of some other matters.

Upon Tuesday laste she made her entrye. She dyned in the Castle. The fyrste syght that she sawe after she came owte of the Castle was a boye of six yeres of age, that came as yt

* On her first arrival in Scotland, the Queen made a show of throwing herself into the arms of the Protestant party, apparently for the purpose of gaining time, that the French Court, who had just now enough on its hands, might be better enabled to aid her. Her dissimulation deceived both the Scotch and Elizabeth: Knox alone was not blinded by it.

† It is impossible to make this passage, and very many others also, agree with the character of Randolph given by Lodge. *Illust. i. p. 353.* —“He was of a dark intriguing spirit, full of cunning, and void of conscience; there is little doubt that the unhappy divisions in Scotland were chiefly fomented by this man's artifices, for more than twenty years together.” All the documents I have seen, show us Randolph as an honest and faithful servant of his mistress.

were from heaven owte of a rownde globe, that presented unto her a Bible, and Psaulter, and the keys of the gates, and spake unto her the verses which I sende you. There, for the terrible sygnifications of the vengeance of God upon idolatrie, ther wer burnt Coron, Nathan, and Abiron, in the tyme of their sacrifice. Thei were mynded to have had a priest burned at the altar, at the elevation. The Erle of Huntly stayed that pagient, but hathe playde many as wicked as that since he came hythyr. He bare that daye the sworde. Th'occasions whye the Duke and my Lord of Arran were absent, your Honour knowethe by the Lord of Lidingeton. The Quene takynge a great suspicion of the fortifyinge of Dombriton, and hathe sent one to see yt. I perswade what I can, both in worde and wrytynge, that they sholde shewe that obedience unto her, that they wolde looke to have of other, if God put them in that place. I desyre them so to use themselves, that their frendes may thynke themselves worthye of their kyndnes. Yf they come to scathe, yt wyl be trewe that of olde is sayde, *Nemo læditur nisi a se ipso*. What they are, that are named counsellors, I refer to the Lord of Lidingeton's report. James Steward's admission to be captain of the garde stayeth upon the Lord of Lidingeton's retorne, to certifye whether he be sworne Englishman. Your Honour maye see that when my penne runneth of such matters, I have not muche more to wryte. Yesterdaye the Erle of Argile came to this towne: I canne as yet get no tyme to speake with hym, as I shall within one daye or two. The brute is here great of an overthrowe that divers of our men have had in Irelande. This daye ther communicated above . . . of the Quene's councellers.

Thus most humbly I take my leave, desyryng your Honour to have in mynd what I wrote towching my retorne, were the time ever so shorte. At Edenbourg, the 7th of September, 1561.

Your Honour's allwayse bounden and reddie to comaunde.

THO. RANDOLPHE.

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO CECIL.

Althoughe I wrote verie latlye unto your honour by Sir Peter Mewtes, and, at his being in Scotlande, informed hym as I coulde of all thinges of that country, yet for as myche as I have byn in this towne at the receivinge of the noblemen of Fraunce,* that thys daye departed towards the courte, I thought yt my parte to signifye unto your honour th'occasion of my being here, and also what I have sene of the Quene's Majestie's officers, and those men's doyngs, that have charge in this place.

Althoughe Sir Peter Mewtes was well accompaynied to Edenbourge, with suche captaynes as came thyther with hym, which were Mr. Tremayne, Mr. Cornewall, and Mr. Pregles, yet I thought yt nothinge but honorable for hym, yf I sholde convoye hym myself owte of the countrye. I had also to confer at that tyme with the Deputie Warden concerninge matters of the borders, of accusations made agaynst the Lord Hume. Somewhat also I had to do with the Treasurer for my owne partyculer, but moste of all for that I knew yt was the Quene's Majestie's pleasure, that the noblemen sholde be receaved unto her Highnes' honour, that I might be wytnes therof, and do my endever to further the same. In doynge wherof, I assure your Honour I never saw in men better wytt nor more reddynges to set forthe her Majestie's honour then was in them, for the number there were. The Marshall, Treasurer, and Controwler, accompanied with dyvers gentlemen, met them somewhat withowte the bounde roode, for so farre the Lord James merrylie promised me that theie wolde ryde into Englishe grounde, as our men came into Scottishe. The Deputie Warden with his compaignie, and the Vice-Marshall, passed not their limits. I mette them before they came ther, with some gentlemen with me, three myles before theye came togyther. Ther were of

* Those of Mary's attendants who have been before mentioned as intending to return through England.

the noblemen of Scotlande these, the Lord James and his two brytherne, the Erle of Morton, and Erle Bothwell ; Lords Bortwycke, Hume, Zester, about three hundred besydes the Frenchmen, as we guessed.

At my fyrste cominge unto the Lord James, he desyred me that no token of unkyndenes myght be used ether to the Lord Hume or Bothwell, bycause that he proposed to convoie them as nere unto the walles as he myght. Hereof I assured hym that I wolde do my endeavor, which was instantlye performed. At the metinge there were manie good words, and also at the departure. The Scottishe men never offerde to departe before theie had harde all the artyllerie shotte of, and stode in the meane season within the shotte of the harquebuse to the towne ; it liked all men so well, that the Prior swore by his honour that he never hard thinge more royal. Monsieur d'Anville sayde yt was worthye such a Prynces as my mestres was. Other ther were that sayde verie honorably their myndes in heringe of the greateste of the compaynie. Monsieur Priour requested me alwayes to be by hym. To all suche questions as he demanded, I answered as then I thoughte good. All thyngs were in suche good order, that I am sure he coulde rather envie yt then myslike yt. Monsieur d'Anville commended well the harquebusiers, for of them was the greateste number, the reste were armes pyquys. The maior and his bretherne mette them in the forcate ; * he gave them, and receaved good words agayne. In the Marshall ther lacked no good wyll to shewe that theie wer welcome. The Treasurer, yf he did ever shewe himselfe noble, that day was his honour. He had in one liverie twenty persons well horsed, with partisanes. He lodged them in hys owne lodging, well furnished with all things, and plate inoughe. He gave them that nyght their supper, and breakfaste in the morninge ; not one that departed withowte hys belly full of good cheare. He gave unto eache of the noblemen a geldinge better then anye theie brought owte of Scotlande. Theie

* Fore-gate.

were the nexte morninge as honorably put owte of the towne (savage the number of great shotte) as theie were receaved. Thus your honor knowethe the maner of their interteynment in the Quene's Majestie's towne, at their fyrste entrie. Theie themselves spake no less unto me of yt then it was. Monsieur Priour, bycawse he knew that I was to retorne, desyred me to tell the Quene of Scotlande what honour had byn done unto them. By two of the Lord James's gentlemen, that he lefte of purpose byhynde to attende upon them untyll that theie wer owte of the towne, bothe the noblemen wrote backe unto the Quene. The Scottishe lords wente that nyght backe to Cowdingehame.* I learned by the way of the Lord James, that the Quene tooke their departure greuously. She roose that morninge to bid them farewell, and to her bedde agayne. She lente unto the Grand Priour to accompaynie hym, of her ladies, Seton, Beton, Liveston, and Flemmynge, as farre as Seton, wheare they dyned. That nyght thei laye in Dobarre, and the Erle of Huntly cominge that nyght owte of the castle, as he sayth hymself, with a falle dyd put hys arme owte of joynte. Some are so uncharitable that thei wyshe that yt had byne his necke. He, theie saye, dysturbyth the whole courte, and yet ys ther not one that gyveth hym credit. If this mysfortune had not byne, he had come farther forward, and yet I assure you ther is no man can tell whether he be hurte or not.

Nowe that these Frenchmen are departed, we shall sone gyve a gesse unto what issue thyngs wyll growe. Her masse is terrible in all men's eyes. The Erle of Cassils said unto myselfe, that he wolde never here any moe. I know not yet what myschief it may worke. Her uncle the Marquis speaketh great words. I se not in hym to worke any great matter. I fynde that ther lacketh no good wyll ether in her or hym. Mr. Knox hathe written unto your honour hys mynde. I am not alwayes of his opinion for his exacte severitie, and yet I fynde yt dothe moste good. She hathe mysliked

* Coldingham, in Berwickshire.

the Provost and Baylies of Edenbourge newe chosen, which liketh me never a whytte. What she myndeth farther yt can not be well savoured as yet. The povertie of her subjectes greatlie advancethe whatsoever she intendethe.

From France comethe her whole counsell, what face so ever she beareth here. Thyther goethe St. Come, throughe England, as he thynkethe, to fette a newe lesson. The love to the Frenche is nothings augmented by these men's beinge here, nor wyll much increase by the Marquis's tarryinge by-hynde. What for gayne or for favor she shall fynde manie frends. I here nothyng of the Duke or my Lord of Arran's cominge to the courte. The Erle of Argile lyketh nothyng in her.

James Macconell, besydes that that he spake unto Sir Peter Mewtes, assurethe me that he wyll at all times be at the Quene my mestres's devoting. He had refusall of a requeste he made unto the Quene ; I knowe not yet what yt was. He made Monsieur d'Anville his meane. He hath promysed me not to have to do in anye matter of Irelande that I shall not be privie unto. His opinion is that ther wyl be no great good done agaynst O'Nel, except he be invaded upon bothe sydes. Of the same mynde is also the Erle of Argile, who sayth unto me that yt were an easye matter to persuade Otho Macconell hymselfe and Maclane to take that enterprise in hande. Thus muche I wryte as I have harde of them, leavinge the consyderation therof unto your wysedome.

I have not further for thys tyme to trouble your honour, but that yt wyll please you to have in remembrance the Quene's Majestie my soverayne's warrant unto Mr. Treasurer, that my allowance maye be monethlye advanced, for that Scotlande is no place where I can lyve withowte monye in my purse. He wyll, I truste, upon your honour's letter, shewe me some frendeshyppe therin. Great meanes is made bothe unto hym and me by Scottishemen for Englishe monye. Though of hym I dowte not, and assure your honor of myselfe, yet I feare muche wyll goe that waye.

Thus most humbly I take my leave, reddye to retorne towards Edenburge, where I pray God that my service maye be unto the Quene's Majestie, as I desyer, and unto your honor so agreable as the opinion that yt hath pleased your Honour to conceive of me. At Barwycke, 12th of September, 1561.

Your Honour's to commande as he is bounde,

THOS. RANDOLPHE.

CECIL TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

It may please your good Lordship, I am somewhat perplexed to see that errant rebell to have more favor of fortune than yourself in such exploits as by wisdom and good order be devised: first to have the happ to take Callogh O'Donnell before your coming; next to scape his ruyn by cowardness of your men, when it seemed it was destenyd to hym; and now, lastly, to have benefitt by the wàndryng of the shippes sent with victell to Loughfoyle, whereof I remayne still desyroose to here, thynkyng surelye that the grete south-west winds carryed them beyond the moole of Kantyre into the north of Scotland.

I know your Lordship is much troubled herewith, and if it may ease you (as it doth in bearyng of burdens) I doo beare no small part therein.

Here be no great news. The Kyng of Sweden was on the seas, and abowte the 8th of September blown homeward.* They saye he is so earnest that he will come by land. Some of his treasur and horses be come to London. In Scotland the state of relligion is by the Quene's proclamation permitted. In France religion abydeth great disputation. In the synod nationall at Poyssy, at the begynning whereof was pro-

* The expectation of the coming of the King of Sweden was now so great, that in Haynes there is printed a draught of an order for the manner of his reception in London, dated Sept. 25, 1561.

pounded an oration which I send your Lordship turned into English.

The Quene's Majesty willeth me to signify to your Lordship her contentation to have my lady, your sister, in her court,* as one of her maydes of honor, if your Lordship will give order therin.

I wrote to your Lordship that you might doo me pleasure to sell to me for redy money in the forest of Rockyngham some small number of okes towards the palyng of a little park. If you shall please to send me a warrant signed with your hand, I trust you will gyve me leave to sett to it your seale of office.

The Grand Pryor and the Monsieur d'Ampvile will be at Barwyk the 9th of this moneth, to come in post this waye, and so to France.

The Duc d'Aumale is retorned into France with the gallies.

The Quene of Scotland, as I here, is most governed by the Lord James and the Lord of Ledyngton.

The Quene's Majestie remanyth still strange to allow of marriadge, wherin God alter her mynde! Good my lord, lett your letters hyther conteyne more specialletie of your proceedings, for the shortnes thereof doth not so well content her Majestie. And so I take my leave of your good Lordship. From St. James's,† the 7th of October, 1561.

Your Lordship's at command,

W. CECILL.

* The Lady Frances Ratcliffe, married to Sir Thomas Mildmay, is the only sister of the Earl of Sussex mentioned in the peerage. In a list of the Queen's jewels, &c. in 1587, preserved in the British Museum, we find the name of Mrs. Mary Ratcliffe as one of the Queen's gentlewomen.

† The Queen arrived at St. James's, in return from her progress, on the 22nd of September.

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO CECIL.

In such matters as of late I have had to do before this Quene and hyr counsell, I have informed my Lords of the Quene's Majesty's honorable counsell, whereof your honour, for the place you are in, cannot be ignorant,. If any thyng be omytted therin, or unsufficiently consydered, I truste their honors will attrIBUTE it unto the little information that I had what to do therein, rather then that ther lacketh care or diligence in me to do that as it ought to be. I leave therefore farther to wryte therof, to trouble your honour the longer in some other matters that occasion is presented unto me to wryte of. The absence of the Duke's grace from thys courte caused here such brute and rumors amongst the people, of his mislykinge of the Quene's proceedings, with somewhat els that they unadvisedlye reported that was mente towards hym, that he was advysed by hys frendes to repayr unto thys towne, and by his presence to make voide all such vayne taulke as was here in maynie men's mouths. Upon Tuesdaye last, (the fourthe of thys instant,) he came unto thys towne. Upon Wensdaye he sawe the Quene, and was well received, and, as he confesseth hym unto me, no manner of occasion offered unto hym by the Quene of myslykinge. Since that tyme he hath bene daylie in courte and counsell. Howbeit, hys purpose ys not to remeyne here above six or eight dayes more. He dwtethe greatly that the Quene intendeth to take from hym Dombriton; and so thynkethe hymselfe voyde of all place of succor, yf this Quene intende at anye tyme to tayke quarrell agaynst hym. "For," saythe he, "when-ever she have that owte of my handes, I know that her mynde towards me and my howse cannot be good. I wyll, therefore, assure myself by all means that I can to keepe that, which," sayth he, "I shall not be able to do, excepte your mestres at that tyme stande gracious prynces unto me, whoe hath promised me by her letters never to se me nor my house wrecked." Though I know that he doutethe more then

he have occasion, yet wolde I no manner of waye condemne hys purpose, nor thought yt good anye waye to dyscourage hym of the Quene's Majestie's favour so longe as he persevere in the mayntenance of God's trothe, obedience to hys soveraigne, and affection towards my mestres accordinge unto her demerites upon hym and hys sone. In thys behalfe he spake inough. He required me verie earnestlie to advertyse your Honour herof, and yf it seme good unto you, to open the same unto the Quene's Majestie, to knowe what her Grace wyll do for hym, yf he be brought unto that necessitie to tayke the parte for hys refuge; and thereof desyrethe your Honour's answer and favorable word unto her Majestie. I inquired of hym what right he had to have that place, or pretence to refuse the deliverie yf yt were demanded. He answered me that hys right was none, but that he tooke yt from the Earle of Lenox, and had a promes by mouthe made unto hym by thys Quene's mother to have yt in ferme for nineteen yeres. Of thys matter he hathe byne twyse in hand with me since his arrivall. I coulde promisse hym no lesse then to wryte unto your Honour; the reste I refer unto your wysedome. My Lord of Arrane remainethe at St. Andrews. He knowethe not hymself, nor I cannot conjecture, what he meaneth by hys aboode there.

He wrote of late unto the counsell that he might be answered of the revenues of St. Andrews, Domfermelinge, and Murosse by the Quene's authoritie, as theie had put hym in possession, adding thys clause, that otherwyse he wolde complayne unto hys bretheren, who from the begynninge had bene of the congregation. Thys manner of doinge was founde verie strange. Hys bill was rejected, and nothingsaide thereunto. It ys nowe called in question whether that the Princesse beinge an idolater maye be obeyed in all civile and pollitique actions. I thynke mervilously of the wysdome of God that gave thys unrulye, unconstant, and combersome people no more substance nor power then theie have, for then wolde theie runne wilde. Nowe theie imagine that the Lord

James growethe colde, that he aspirethe to great matters. He is nowe Lieutenant upon the borders, Commander of the Quene, lyke shortly to be Erle of Murray and Treasurer of Scotlande. Lidingeton ambitious and too full of pollicie. So ther is no remedie, saye theie, yt muste yet come to a newe daye. To the contrarie of thys I perswade by all meanes that I can, with suche as I maye most assuredlie have to doo. And in my conscience theie are in the wronge to the Lord James. And whensoever Lidingeton is taken owt of thys place, theie shall not fynd amongeste themselves so fitte a man to serve in thys realme.

My Lord of Arrane hath bene ofte perswaded with to conforme hymselfe to thys estate and tyme. My sayings have bene allwayes unto hym that the greater tokens of obedience that he shewe nowe unto his Soveraigne, the better shall he be able to governe, and the people knowe their dutie, yf God send hym unto that place. I fynde my words better allowed then followed of hym. He desyrethe greatlye to speake with me. Nether thys tyme, nor the place where he is, servethe me therunto, thoughte I be willinge inoughe when occasion better servethe then now yt dothe.

I wrote unto your Honour that the provost and bayles of thys towne were deposed. We looke now daylie to have them restored, and the selfe same confirmed that theie were put out of their office for. Upon Alhalowe daye, the Quene had a songe masse. That night one of her prestes was well beaten for hys rewarde by a servant of the Lord Robert's. We looke to have yt proclaimed agayn that no man, under payne of confiscation of goods and lands here, saye or come unto her owne masse, savinge her owne householde, that came out of France. The ministers shall have their lyvings appoynted by her autoritie. These matters are presently in hand. The Lord James upon Fridaye takethe hys jorneye towards Gedbrough; there goe with hym the Erle Morton, Lord Ersken, Earle Bodwell, Lord Seton, Lord Leveson. Th'assemble wil be greate, and I truste greate good will ensue

thereof. I have receaved answer from all the wardens of the opposite Marches fornenst Scotland, that proclamation is made agaynst fugitives, which I have declared unto thys Quene, who was verie gladd thereof.

As I thought thus to have ended, ther wer sent unto me your letters of the 26th of November, brought by La Crock, who, as the Lord of Lidingeton geveth me to understande, hathe made verie honorable reporte of the Quene's Majestie my soveraigne.

The Lord James also confirmethe the same with manie merrie words, that thys Quene wished that one of the two were a man, to make an end of all debates. Thys I trowe was spoken in her merrie moode. Yesterdaye I sought occasion to have spoken with her Grace myself, but she was busye abowte St. Come's despache into France, who within two dayes taketh his jorney. Her Grace purposeth to wryte unto the Quene's Majestie herself with her owne hande. St. Come's arrant into France is to understande the state of things ther, to fashion as nere as she maye all things accordingle here, to intertayne amytye by kinde wordes, and to fette newe instructions howe matters shal be governed here. To speake of hymself, he is gentle and honeste inoughe, but not withoute suspicion of over great ambition, which maye move hym by all wayes that he can to serve hyr appetyte. We retaine our olde familiaritie, and accordingly I muste neades commende hym unto your Honour. This Quene longethe greatly to here of the Quene's Majestie's resolution touching Sir Peter Meute's legation.

I have nowe some occasion, by reason of your letter, to saye somethinge, yf she enter with me in purpose of hym, as she hathe done twyse or thryse since hys departure. I have made bothe the Lord James and Lord of Lidingeton privie of my Lord of Bedford's intertaynment and courtoysie towards the Grande Prior and Monsieur d'Ampville; theie leave nothyng unspoken thereof unto the Quene in as good words as theie can. I heare that the newes she hathe of the Cardi-

nall's and Duke's leavinge the courte pleasethe her but lyttle. All men here judge the tyme of the yere paste for the Kinge of Sweden's cominge, thoughe of late the brute was great that he was arrived at Dunkyrke.

I have done your Honour's commendations unto the Lord James and the Lord of Lidingeton. I have also saluted the Duke's Grace in your name, for so I thoughte it requysyte. Suche of the Lords as have their hostages* at Newcastle, purpose shortly to wryte unto the Quene's Majestie for the deliverance of them, forasmuche as the yere is nowe nere expired. I persuaded with the Lord James to let the yere first runne oute before anye suche thing were moved. Others thoughte it beste oute of hande to avoyde charges. I leave yt at their discretions, and am not sure whether that thaye wyll wryte by St. Come or not. To-morrowe I shall knowe their resolution.

There restethe nothings that I can calle unto my remembrance but to gyve your Honour most humble thanks for your favorable remembrance of my licence for horses and th'augmentation of my dietts here. I truste ther shal be nothings lefte therof unspent as nere as I can to the Quene's Majestie's honour. Unles yt please you at anye tyme to have me in remembrance unto Mr. Treasurer, I shall fynde him harde and slacke inoughe. He hathe as maynie fayer wordes as good deedes.

I am here sore comberde by a myscheivous man, one Tomson, of whome long since I wrote unto your Honour. He is a playn anabaptiste, and al moste oute of his wytte.

I leave for thys present farther to trouble your Honour, until you see the Lord of St. Come. Moste humbly I take my leave; at Edenboure, the 4th of November, 1561.

Your honour's bounden and reddye allwayes to com-
mande,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

* The hostages given by the Scottish Lords when the English army entered Scotland to their aid in 1560.

CECIL TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

It may please your honourable good Lordship, lyke as my greeff was not small, to wryte my last letters about the fourteenth hereof, so am I now well releaved, though not fully satisfied, because it appeareth not by any your letters clearly, howe Shane and you be accorded, nether how Armagh is left,* nor who commeth with hym. I assure your Lordship the tales of townsmen report more certenly, than otherwayes I here.

I have had somewhat to doo to get you licence to come, and without direction to discharg her Majesty from the justice fee, it wold not be gotten, and yet I had assistance of the counsel therein. Untill your Lordship shall come, I see that her Majesty will not send for the Erles of Ormond and Desmond.† Her Majesty thinketh her realme shall be unfurnished, if the Erle of Ormond shall come now in your absence. Good my Lord, furnish yourself with good matter to excuse the lack that is found in this last yere's service, and forgett not the notable default of Jacques Wyngfeld,‡ for it remayneth here in memory, and for your lack in proceeding agaynst hym, some blame is noted in you. And so trustyng shortelie to see you, I end. From Westminster, this 18th of December, 1561.

Lett a perfect declaration be brought of the Quene's Majesty's dett there.

Your Lordship at command,

W. CECILL.

* Campion says, O'Neil burned the metropolitan church of Armagh, because no English army might lodge therein, for which sacrilege the primate accursed him.

† The dissensions between these two earls gave great trouble to the government in Ireland, and rise to a formidable series of rebellions.

‡ Third son of Sir Richard Wingfield, of Kimbolton. He was at this time master of the ordnance and a privy councillor in Ireland.

CECIL TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

May yt please your honourable good Lordship, it hath bene thought mete that Shan O'Neyle shuld yesterdaye in an oppen presence in the afternoon come and submitt himselfe, and receyve pardon. * Wherin there was had consideration of you, or els the matter might have fallen out unmete both for her Majestie and you. He came to the towne about Thursdaye before. On Saturday he cam to the Lord Keper's house, where wer with the Lord Keper, the Lord Marquis of Northampton, the Earle of Penbrook, the Vice-Chamberlayn, and poore I. There he humbly requyred that we wold be meanes for hym to come to her Majesty's presence to acknowledg his obedience. After some sharp rehersall to hym of his generall faults, we promised him our meanes. We wold not suffer him to reply for his defence, meaning to leave that untill your

* "Now," saith Camden, "was Shan O'Neal come out of Ireland, to perform what he had promised a yeere before, with a guard of ax-bearing Galloglasses, bare-headed, with curled haire hanging downe, yellow surplises dyed with saffron, long sleeves, short coates, and hairy mantles; whom the English people gazed at with no lesse admiration than now a-dayes they doe them of China and America. He being received with all kindnesse, and falling downe at the Queene's feete, confessed his crime and rebellion with howling, and obtained pardon." When, however, he was accused of treachery towards his brother, he defended himself resolutely. The leniency with which Shane O'Neil was treated, had rather an ill effect, than otherwise, for he returned to his clan rather as a king than a subject, with an acknowledged authority over them; and though he used his strength at first against the Hebridean Scots, the queen's declared enemies, it was soon felt that he did not act in mere duty to his sovereign. It may be observed here, that in his account of Shane's rebellions, Camden seems to be incorrect and confused, particularly in his chronology.

Campion says that the English courtiers, noting the haughtiness and barbarity of O'Neil, "devised his style thus: 'O'Neile the great, cousin to St. Patricke, friend to the Queene of England, enemy to all the world besides.'"

Lordshipp come. So I thought mete that his submission shuld be both in Irish and English, which he made uppon his knees, and first prostrat uppon his face.

I perceyve, by secret meanes, he will make the King's letters patents voyde to Mathew, because there was none such by the name of Mathew alias Fearderogh O'Neyle, sonne of Connace.

I perceyve beside that he will alledg that the people of the countrey never accorded therto.

Theis thyngs your Lordshipp may thynk of, and so I take my leave. He hath here one thousand pound, and laboreth to have other five hundred. From Westminster, 7th Januar. 1561.

Your Lordshipp's at command,

W. CECILL.

SHANE MACGUIRE* TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

In my moste harthy † maner I humbly recommend me unto your Lordshyppe, and the causse of me wouryting ‡ unto you att this tyme is satisfyng your Lordshippe that I have your

* The letters of Macguire, (who was lord or chief of Fermanagh, had suffered by Shane O'Neil's tyranny and violence, and sought shelter in the protection of the English,) and of the bailiffs of Dundalk, (a town which was particularly obnoxious to the rebel chieftain,) will, no doubt, be thought extremely curious, and give a most interesting picture of the melancholy condition of Ireland at this period. The orthography and language of Shane Macguire is peculiarly Irish.

Camden observes, of the transactions of this year, that Shane, puffed up with his success against the Scots, "began to exercise tyranny over the petty lords of Ulster. Armagh, the metropolitan city of Ireland, he defaced with fire, in hatred to the archbishop.—Macguire he drove out of his ancient inheritance, making a prey of Macgeniss and others. Whose protection, when the English undertooke, he tooke up the banner of rebellion against the Queene, which, by the perswasion of Sir Thomas Cusac, Knight, he soone layde downe againe, and returned to his obedience, delivering his sonne for hostage."

† Hearty.

‡ Writing.

Lordshippe is¹ leter, wherin I doo perseve your Lordshippe is good will towards me, and as touching any difference that is betowyn² me and O'Relly, I will by ordereth³ as Sir Thomas Cusake wyll saye in all things. Your Lordshippe shall understande that it greves me gretely that ye are so longe in this realme, and that I could not have lesyre to goo to visite your Lordshyppe, because of thoose onhappy wars that I am bysethe⁴ withall, for I doo promes unto your Lordshippe by the fayghett⁵ that I doo owe to God, that Shan O'Neyll is⁶ tenants dyd me more hurthe senes⁷ this laste pece⁸ than ever he dyd whyll I had open war with hym, and I doo promes you that I am upon me kypying⁹ every daye senes his coming to Erlond.¹⁰ But your Lordshyppe shall understand that I might doo hym moche hurthe¹¹ sense his departyng, if it wer not for fered¹² of your Lordshyppe is displesur. This I will desyr you pointe¹³ whathe¹⁴ daye your Lordeshyppe will poynt me to goo to speke with your Lordshyppe.

Your Lordshippe shall understande that I dyd send the beste hawke of this countrey unto my Lady your bedfelow be your futheman,¹⁵ and another felow, to cary the sayed goos-hawke in hys company, and I would desyr you to know of your man what was don with the sayd goshawke.*

No more unto your Lordshyppe at this tyme, butt Almighty God preserve and kyppe you. Woryten the fifteenth day of Auguste.

Be your daly orator and por bedman,¹⁶

SHAN MAGUYR.

¹ Lordship's. ² Between. ³ Be ordered. ⁴ Beset. ⁵ Faith.

⁶ His. ⁷ Hurt since. ⁸ Peace. ⁹ Upon my keeping, on my guard.

¹⁰ Ireland, (*i. e.* on his return from England.) ¹¹ Hurt. ¹² Feare.

¹³ Appoint. ¹⁴ What. ¹⁵ Footman. ¹⁶ Bedesman.

* An Irish hawk and an Irish hound were at this period much coveted by the English nobility for their excellence, and were the ordinary acknowledgments sent by or requested as a favour from an Irish chief. The exportation of hawks was the subject of legislative enact-

THE BAILIFFS OF DUNDALK TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

Our humble duety premised unto your honorable Lordshipp. And where information was gyvin to your Honor that sum of Shane O'Neylls men shoulde stell certen bevys from the ward of Armaghe, we certefy your Honor that the same are restored. For certen of our townsmen that were yesterday at ment; in 1480, a duty of 13s. 4d. was placed for every goshawk, 6s. 8d. for every tiercel, and 10s. for each falcon, exported out of Ireland; besides "poundage accordingly." "The hawks of Ireland, called goshawks," says Fynes Morrison, "are much esteemed in England; and they are sought out by many, and all means to be transported thither." Derrick, in "The Image of Ireland," written in 1578, and published in 1581, thus celebrates the seven varieties of hawks bred in Ireland, which he observes, are "peerless for speediness of wing."

"Of hawkes retaining sondrie names
The countrie store doeth breede,
Whose names, if pacience will abide,
In order shall proceed.

The *goshawke* first of all the crewe
Deserves to have the name;
The *faucon* next in high attemptes,
In glorie, and in fame.

The *tarsell* then ensueth on,
Good reason 'tis that he,
For flying hawkes in Ireland, next
The faucon plaste should bee.

The *tarsell gentel's* course is nexte,
The fourthe peere of the lande,
Combined to the faucon with
A lover's friendly bande.

The pretie *marlion* is the fifth,
To her the *sparhawke* nexte,
And then the *jacke*, and *musket* laste,
By whom the birds are vexte.

These are the hawkes which chiefly breed
In fertile Irishe groundes;
Whose matche for flight and speedie wyng,
Elsewhere be hardly founde."

Armage, as they were returnyng from Shane, praing him of restitution of a pray that sum of McMahonn's* men made uppon us a Friday last past, showed us thereof. And they fained that the bevys ware scatteryd abrode by wolffs,† and

In 1568, the Queen addressed a letter to Sir Henry Sidney, (the original of which was in the possession of the late Lord Kingsborough,) in which her Majesty states that in the second year of her reign she did grant to her cousin, Fernando de Castro, Marquis of Saria, in Spain, descended of the royal blood of Lancaster, two goshawks and four greyhounds, to be delivered by the Lord Deputy of Ireland, for which purpose letters patent were passed, and which grant is to be annual. "And because," continues the Queen, "we consider that sometime without foresight and care had, the said hawks specially can not be in rediness at times convenient, we think it were well done both for that and furdur pleasuring of us, persons dwelling in the parts where the said hawks are to be had, might be enjoyned or induced by some good meanes yerely to yeld unto us, as it were by way of some service or rent, such number of hawks as might conveniently be had. The devise whereof we remitt to your owne discretion." It may be added, that the chief rent paid formerly for the Island Magee, was a pair of goshawks and a pair of gloves.

In 1634, the law authorities in Ireland were directed to prepare an act to restrain "The stealing of great hawks or taking of hawks with nets, &c." And in a letter printed in the Rawdon Papers, iii. 17, from the Bishop of Derry to the Lord Deputy Wentworth, dated 30 May, 1635, the Bishop says, "I have drawn an eyny of hawks for fear of stealing, but because they are not so ready, I forbear the other a while, and will send them together very shortly."

* "The county of Monaghan," says Fynes Moryson, "was inhabited by the English family Fitzursi, and these are become degenerate and barbarous, and in the sense of that name are in the Irish tongue called Mac Mahon, that is, the sons of bears." Stanyhurst, in his rude but favourite hexameter verse, laments the death of his most dear cousin, the Lord Louth, "who was trayterously murthred by Mackmaughoun," an Irish lording, about the year 1577.

"Though Sydney and Delwyn the murther partlye revenged,

A losse so pretiouse may not bee fullye requited;

The death of a thousand Maghounds is unequal amendment."

† Wolves were at this period very abundant in Ireland. Smith, in his history of Kerry, tells us that these "animals were not entirely extirpated until about the year 1710, as, he adds, "I find by present-

two of them that is nat restored to be ettin* by the said wolffs. Nevertheles he saithe he will se them satisfied thereof. So that we nede nat send any bevys at this tyme. And as concerning our pray made by McMahonn's men as afforsaid, he will never se cow restored, nor he wold not have loked uppon our letter, but sent it backe again undisclosed, calling us false chorlys, with other vile names, wherfor we pray your Honor to direct your strait commandement to McMahonn, willing and commanding him to restore our said pray. The names of them that made the pray are Neyll Oge† McNeyll, Morice O'Neyll, and the sons of Evyr, son to Hughe Roo McMahonn. And the number of the pray is fifty kyne and four gerrans. And thus we humbly take leve. From Dundalke, this 8th of October, 1562.

Your humbles,

STEPHEN CASSELL, and
JAMES DILLON,

Bayllyves.

ments for raising money for destroying them in some old grand jury books." It has been stated to the editor that so late as 1740, wolves were killed on the western end of the range of the Galtee mountains, county of Tipperary.

Derrick, in his *Image of Ireland*, 1581, observes that there are "greate store of wolves in Irelande."

"No beastes, (I saie,) which do possesse
One jote of crewell kinde,
Except the wolfe that noisome is,
In Irishe soile I finde."

The Irish, according to Camden, sometimes chose wolves to be their gossips, terming them *Chari Christi*, praying for them, and wishing them well; and having contracted this intimacy, professed to have no fear of danger from their four-footed allies.

Fynes Moryson, 1603, speaking of wolves in Ireland, observes that "the destruction whereof being neglected by the inhabitants, oppressed with greater mischiefs, they are so much grown in number as sometimes in winter nights they will come to prey in villages and the suburbs of cities."

* Eaten.

† Oge is equivalent to our word junior.

SHANE MACGUIRE TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

After all due reverance, as me due obedyence, I humbly recommend me unto your Lordshipp. This is to sertyfy your Lordshipp, that at the wouryting of this byll, Shan O'Nell did send me his on cowssyn¹ profering me to make amends in all the damage that he and all his men dyd unto me contrey senes this war began, and forgive me all the ofenceys² that I dyd against hym, apou the condyssion that I should yelde meselfe unto hym as true servant and subject. Butt myn answer was thys unto his servanth, that as longe as I lyve that I wyll never forsake your Lordshipp, thell³ your honor doo forsake me. Wherfor I know well that within this four dayes the sayed⁴ Shan will come to dystroy me contrey, excepth your Lordshypp wyll sethe⁵ some remedy in this mather,⁶ bechechthing⁷ you to send your good advys unto us abuthe this matheres, for excepteth that your Lordshyppe wyll sye to this matheres, I shall be caste away, other elles I most yelde meselfe unto hyme. Desyring your Lordshipp, and yf it be possibell, to send me a good horsse that I may truste upon, and if I lyve I will deserve ytt att your Lordshippe is hands. No more unto your Lordshipp att this tyme, butt Almighty God send us good mytynge.⁸ Woryten in the castell of Maguyr, the 9th day of October,

Be your dayly orator and poor bedeman,

SHAN MAGUYR.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.*

Sir, sence your departure, here was some difficulties concerning the passadg into Normandy. The prince of Condee

¹ Own cousin.

² Offences.

³ Till.

⁴ Said.

⁵ Set.

⁶ Matter.

⁷ Beseching.

⁸ Meeting.

* Sir Thomas Smith, the eldest son of John Smith, of Walden, in Essex, was one of the most universally accomplished scholars of this age, which was by no means poor in learned men. He was an upright

sent speciall commandement to Newhaven,* that our men should not enter by his authoritie. Theis tydings cam to us the 26th of the last; heruppon wer we all a baye, but yet within twelve howres we found such comefort otherwise, as order was gyven for our men to take shipping, and so Adrian Poynings to go over with them, and take with hym a wrytyng from the Queen's Majesty under the great scale, the copy whereof is sent to you herewith. Then came the wynd the south that none cold pass. Newes came from Depe and Newhaven of the constabl's coming to besege Roone,† and for lack of our men all thyngs grown desperate, and so contynued to our gret greeff here, untill the 3rd of this month; and then passed over two thousand and four hundred, after the em-

and able minister, and during the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, he was twice secretary of state, and thrice ambassador in France. He died in 1577. He was sent to the French court the 1st of September of 1562.

* Scotland, during the greater part of the present year, presents to us only a scene of half-smothered jealousies, both in matters of religion and in its state affairs. The attentions of the English government were turned chiefly to France, where the Protestant party, headed by the prince of Condé and the Admiral, were obliged to take up arms to defend themselves from the oppressive faction of the Guises. Elizabeth agreed to support the former, on condition they should deliver into her hands the town and castle of Havre, then called by the English Newhaven, which she resolved to keep until Calais, which had been retained from her contrary to solemn treaty, should be delivered. On the 1st of March, 1563, happened the celebrated massacre of Vassy, "the beginning of the troubles of France." The command of Newhaven was given to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, elder brother of Lord Robert Dudley.

† The queen-mother of France, "to prevent the English passing further into the kingdom, persuaded the King of Navarre, the Duke of Guise, and the constable, to turn their arms against Rouen before they laid siege, as had been proposed, to Orleans. Her counsel in this instance was listened to, and Rouen besieged towards the end of September, 1562; about 2000 of the English troops from Havre and Dieppe are said to have previously arrived there to strengthen the garrison."—*Nares' Burghley*.

barkyng of whom that daye we cold never here ether of our men or our shippes untill this morning, the 10th of Octob. Duryng this tyme the wynd contynued so northerly, that no passengers cold come from the cost, and uppon those contrariouse accidents, have I forborne to depeche towards you, nether have I herd from you sence your being at Callis.

I trust now some passynger will bryng us word from all those forth placees, and so wearye of scriblyng I end. 10th October, 1562.

Yours assuredly to command,

W. CECILL.

My Lord of Warwyk passeth to the sea syde on Mondaye. I send you a ciphre triplicated, one betwixt hym and you.

P.S. Hora sexta post merid. I understand from Depe, that the Mont at St. Catharynes is lost by treason, and the battry is leade to the towne walles at Roan. Depe is very weke, and the fortifications not perfect. Eight hundred of ours shall pass thyther, the fourteenth herof: there be alredy six hundred of ours, three score horsemen of Scot

Mr. Wynter is gone ere now to Depe to consider of the * . . wis shall be redy to imbarck for Depe on Tuesday.

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO ———.

Sir, I know very well, that your abode there, without oftener advertisements from hence, must nedes be grevous unto you, and yet the only fault herof is these varieties of th'affaires in France, which have so turned both ourselves and our counsell here into so many shapes from time to time, as I culd never, untill this present, make any certen accompt what I might wryte to you hereof.

True it is that for my owne parte I have used all the advise I could to procure some quiett end in these French matters, because I have sene from the begynning, that the processe of them one wayes ended wold be a beginning of our troubles,

* The letter is here torn.

and as it maye appear unto you, when the Guisians wold gyve no eare, but followe their intents by force. It hath bene sene mete to the Quene's Majestie by the advise of all her counsaile to sett in her foote, and to preserve the miserable state of her poore neighboures in Normandy with a buckler of her defence.

The matter hath ben long in consultation, and diverse tymes broken of, with hope of some good end in Fraunce; but now fynding that desperate, the Quenes Majestie hath determined to send over the Earle of Warwick, with six thousand footemen, three thousand with himselve to Newhaven and the other three to Deepe. It is ment to kepe Newhaven in the Quene's possession untill Callice be eyther delyvered, or better assurance of it then presently we have. And herein both justice and pollicy shall mayntien our actions; for as for Callice, by meanes the Frenche have broken the treaty with us, we may be bold presently to demand it, and if thereof arguments shall arise I think the Quene's Majestie need not be ashamed to utter her right to Newhaven as parcell of the Duchie of Normandy.

Nothing is ment here on our parte to make any invasion but to enter quietly into these peeces, which by lawe of armes we may, considering we take none of them by force; and as long as the French shall give no other cawse, it is ment to use no warre towards them, but to allowe of mutuall trafique betwixt bothe the nations.

By the Quene's Majestie's letter to that King, and her private unto you, and by the declaration which also shal be sent you with another writinge delivered by her Majestie to her Lieutenant now sent into Normandy, you shall well understand the cawses of her Majestie's doings, as the same may be avowed to the world; and of all these two principally,—one to stay the Duke of Guise, as our sworne enemy, from his singular superioritie, th'other to procure us the restitution of Callice, or something to countervale it.

The last moneth Mr. Henry Knolles was sent into Almain with commission to joyne with Christopher Mount, and to

sollicite the Princes Protestants bothe to ayde the Prince of Condé, and to consider how the common cawse of relligion might be defended against any common confederacy of the enemy.

He hath already ben with the Palsgrave, and, having found him very earnest in both the causes, is gone towards the Rhensgrave, and the Duke of Saxe, and as I perceave shall mete with the rest of the Princes at Franckforth the begynning of the next moneth, where the Emperor and Maximilian shal be, to compasse the assent of the Princes to make Maximilian King of Romans, wherin tyme shall better declare what will succede, then privately I dare affirme.

The matters betwixt the Quene's Majestie, and the Quene of Scotts, rest in these tearmes. The Quene's Majestie was contented in June to accord upon an enterview in August, with the Quene of Scotts, coming to Nottingham, so as the matters in Fraunce looke good; and before the last of July, and because at that tyme the troubles grew to be more desperate, the enterview was disappointed, and so excuse was sent to the Quene of Scotts by Sir Henry Sidney,* with offer to mete at Yorke betwixt midsomer and the end of August, which is lyke to succede as the planets of Fraunce shal be disposed. And nevertheles I find the Quene's Majestie here so well disposed to kepe amytie with the Quene of Scotts, as suerly the default of their two agreements shall not grow from the Quene here.

Her Majestie writeth to her at this presente, and maketh such distinction in her proceedings, as on the one parte she maketh her well assured of her love towards her, and on the other she noteth plainely and franckly her offence to-

* Sir Henry Sidney was the son of Sir William Sidney, of Penshurst in Kent, and married Mary Dudley, sister of the Earl of Leicester. He was one of the most distinguished statesmen of his time, and was Knight of the Garter, President of Wales, and Deputy of Ireland.

wards the Guises, which she so tempereth by her letters of her owne devise to the Quene of Scotts, as I think she shall have cause to think well of the Quene's Majestie, and to lament her uncle's foolish proceedings. The said Quene of Scotts, upon the disappointment of the interview, made her progresse into the north parts of Scotland, where she hath as I heare ministred both justice, and lost not by her journey, as you know the Quene her mother was wont to do upon the frontiers. The intelligence betwixt this and that realme remayneth in the same good tearmes as heretofore it did, and so is lyke to continue, as I think, untill the Frenche seede be sown to make division.

Here was of late spread abroad by some maliciouse heades, a tale how the Lord James should kill the Quene's Chaplain, for saying masse in a place out of the Quene's presence, and being sent for by the Quene by the capten of her garde, he shuld also kyll hym. But these tales were all feyned, and therefore if any of them be carried over thither, you may discredytt them; for true it is he remayneth in the principall credytt with the Quene, and carieth the burden of the government, constant enough in relligion, though not so rash as this tale wold signify.

Now will I touche the matter of the ambassador's secretary here unto you, who, as you write, is not born under the dominion of King Phillipp. The whole circumstance of that matter is very long, but yet I will wryte some parte therof. It seemeth that the secretary had some spark of conscience, and finding the ambassador so fully bent in all his negotiations to diminish the reputation of the Quene and this realme, by multitude of practises and lyes contynually sent over bothe into the Lowe Countries and Spayne, and also to Rome and other places,* could not longer conteyne, but gave some significa-

* A favourite topic of the writers in favour of Mary of Scotland, is the intriguing character of Elizabeth's ambassadors. They conceal at the same time the fact that there was scarcely a foreign ambassador

tion thereof. And because diverse things written by the said ambassador were knowen to be manifest slaunders and lyes of the Quene, the partie was contented to have avowed the same to th'ambassador. But the matter could not so be used, for th'ambassador being partly told thereof, wold in no wise have any recitall made, but only required to have his secretary being gone from him to retourne agayne, who declaring himself to be in feare of his lief, wold not so do, but alledging himselfe to be no born subject of the King's, nor otherwise bound to th'ambassador, he departed from hence to his owne lybertie, and at this daye (as I heare) rather preßseth th'ambassador with suits to have his wages and certen somes of money which th'ambassador oweth him, then otherwise that he is demanded by th'ambassador to be restored unto him.

The truth is this ambassador is a man very unmete to norish amytye betwixt that King and the Quene, for his chief travaile and labour is to disorder our estate by his popish practises, and he seemeth to neglect all other affaires, and rather serveth, as may appeare, like a Nuncio of the Pope's, then the King's ambassador, wherein suerly he is much comported withall, in respect of the Quene's good-will towards that Prince.

This former parte hath remained written these ten dayes, continuing the same untill I might write more certainly of the landing of our men in Normandy. Untill the 26th of September, whatsover preparations were made and judgments cast, I assure you I could not have written of any resolution had here to send any succours thither, but it was thought that shewes therof wold have wrought some inclination. On the 26th it was concluded, and on the 27th at night lyke to have been utterly revoked, for newes came that day from Newhaven, that the Prince of Condé had expressly forbidden our

at Elizabeth's court, whose real occupation, and perhaps commission, was not to plot against her life and crown.

men to land at Newhaven by his authoritie.* So yet it stode us upon not to neglect the matter, and by other meanes we obteyned a probabilitie to receave us if we wold enter. This matter passed hardly, for on the 28th, when our men were redy at Portsmouth, no wynde wolde blowe but agaynst them untill the 3rd of this moneth, and then as they passed with good wind, so no wind wold serve to bring us word of their arrivall untill this morning. At Newhaven there be two thousand five hundred men, and shal be within these ten dayes with my Lord of Warwick five hundred more, beside twelve hundred on the seas.

In Deepe there be of ours but six hundred, and are going to be at Rye, the 14th of this moneth, eight hundred more.

I feare that towne cannot hold out, but for lack of fortification our men shal be forced to go to Newhaven, or to retire. Roanet† is not lyke to hold oute the seage, and so I dowbt we only in Newhaven must make the accompt to kepe them playe, which for strength thereof is lyke so to do.

Muffett came hyther on Friday last. I am so fully occupied as it is impossible for me to enlarge this my letter, and therefore I end. 11th Octob. 1562.

Your assured,
W. CECILL.

SHANE MACGUIRE TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

After all due reverance, as me due obedyence, I humbly recommend me unto your Lordshipp. This is to sertify you that Shan O'Neill is com unto me contrey the 15th day of this present monethe, with a grethe hoste, profryng me all myn on‡ desyr, and to forsake your Lordshipp is parthys. Buthe §

* It seems to have been at this time a policy of the prince to receive the English, without giving them an open authority to enter, in order to avoid giving offence to many of his friends in France.

† Both Dieppe and Rouen were lost. At the siege of this latter place the King of Navarre received the wound of which he died.

‡ Own. § Parts. But.

myn answer was this to hym, that I would never forsake you thell ¹ you had forsaken me fyrste; wherfor he bygan to wax mad, and to cawsse his men to bran² all the corn and howsses in the este parthe of the ryver that runnys amydes me contrey, so that the lefihe³ nother howsse nor no kinde of corn in that syde of the ryver, butt the sethe itt all a fyre, and as well he dyd never spar nother churche nother sentory, and moreover he has kyllyd abowe thre hondred persons of poor laburers and women and chyl dren, that were makyng therharveste in that syde of the ryver. Butt he could not pas wasteward wher me cathell⁴ was, because I stopped the passage with the helpe of sertayne hagbutheres that I have. But your Lordshipp shall understand that after my coming home from the Englys pale,* I was so bolde apon your honor as to wryte to Hyw O'Donnell that he should not medell with Shan O'Neil is company, nother to helpe agaynst any of the Quyne's Maygesty's servants under your Lordshipp is government, in payne of your displeur. Butt you shall understand that the sayd Hyw O'Donnell has drawen and cawssyd the sayde Shan to goo abutt this ryver all alongste thell he came to the castell of Bellew, and ther Hyw O'Donnell did pas all Shan O'Neil is oste in the wayste⁵ parthys of me contrey, and the sayd Hyw himself with all his power is campyd with the said Shan O'Neil, and this I may thell⁶ you that I am clen banyssyd, and all becausse of Hyw O'Donnell is helpe. For I told you dyvers tymes that Shan O'Neil shuld never have the power to banysse me, excepthe it had ben through Hyw O'Donnell is castelles, that standys in the bordywrs of me contrey. Wherfor I shall desir your Lordshipp to sy⁷ to me grethe lostys, the which is innoumerabell to be rekyned. For I promes you, and you doo not sy the rather to Shan O'Neil is besynes, ye ar lyke to make hym the strongest man of

¹ Till.² Burn.³ They left.⁴ Cattle.

* Since the last letter he seems to have been to consult the Earl of Sussex personally.

⁵ West.⁶ Tell.⁷ See.

all Erlond, for evry man wyll take an exampell by me grethe lostys. Wherefor take hyd to yourselves by thymes,⁸ for he is lyke with the helpe of Hyw O'Donnell to have all the power from this place thell he come to the wallys of Gallway, to rysse against you.

Bechetching your onor to cause a horsse that was taken from this berer to be restoryd agayne, for I dyd sende the sayde horsse to by me selfe a churthe⁹ of mayll, and the¹⁰ of the Nafen (?) has taken the sayd horsse from him. Desyryng you to give credence to this berer in all things, thus far ye well to the plesur of God, and to your nobell hart's desyr. Wryten in Farmanah, the 20th day of October, praying you to send me word if ever I shall have any sowcor agaynste Shan O'Nell.

Be yours to command,
SHAN MAGUYR.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, sence the pacquett and the carrier were redy to depart, I hard from Newhaven that it is trew that the Prynce of Condé is sorted out of Orleance, and joynd with the Almaynes, and it is dowed whether they will to Pariss, or come to Normandy. If he come towards Normandy, he shall have, I thynk, redy to joyne with him some convenient number of our men. You maye advertise the Prince of Condé that the money promised to him shall be ready at Newhaven within these ten days.*

The French ambassador shall have his answer on Mondaye, which shall tend to continue in our former purpose to mayntain our doings for help of the King's subjects, and to prevent our own dangers by the Guises. The matter

⁸ Betimes.

⁹ Shirt.

¹⁰ They.

* This last paragraph is in cypher.

of the Pooles* here shall not be medled withall untill the Parlement.

Put into your cipher in the lyne of d for *dayes* D, and in writing of the cifre, write no more than is nedefull. I here that Killigrew shall be redeemed for young Pegrillion, and that Layghton is prisoner, and that our Englishmen are putt to the gallies. You may taxe that crueltie, and move them not to provoke us to follow theire crueltie.

I never thought so long to here from ambassadors. For God's sake hereafter devise some shyfts to let us know somewhat, though you send by Flanders by some merchaunts. But herin I ask your pardon, for I am assured your lott is over great, and so I take my leave. Monsieur de Fortz and Rybault be come, and I here that the Cont Montgomery is coming hyther with Sir Henry Sydney.† 13th of November, 1562.

Yours most assured,

W. CECILL.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, as I did soddenly uppon Francisco's departure, thank

* "Arthur Poole and his brother, great grandchildren to George, Duke of Clarence, brother to King Edward the Fourth, Antony Fortescue, who had married their sister, and others, were arraigned, for that they had conspired to withdraw themselves into France to the Duke of the Guise, and from thence to return with an army into Wales, and to proclaime the Queene of Scots Queene of England, and Arthur Pool Duke of Clarence. All which they ingenuously confessed at the barre, protesting, notwithstanding, that they meant not to enterprise these things while Queene Elizabeth lived, who they believed would dye ere the yere came about, being induced so to thinke by the unlawfull arts of conjuring wizards. Whereupon they were condemned to dye: nevertheless, their lives were spared for reverence of the blood royall."—*Camden*.

† Sir Henry Sidney had been sent into France to negotiate on the affairs of the Protestants.

you for your many letters, so now agayne I hartely thank you at more lesure.

My Lords of the counsell have herd your letters to them, and thereupon consequently have also understand all the rest of your negotiations with the Kyng and Quene there, and with the Cardinall of Ferrary, the Pope's legate.

I fynd them all to allow of your zeale to procure peace, and of your diligence in so ample a manner, as by your wrytings doth appeare.

But to wryte plainely and franckly to you, as I wold you shuld if our places were changed; the most here have mislyked that you have treated with the legate, and seme willyng that you shuld have been reprehended therfor. But therin I and others that understand your good meaning, have so tempred the cause, as therof you shall here no otherwise except it be by me, and some other your private good friends. Here be amongst us divers very scrupulous of dealing with the Pope's ministers; and therefore I wish you to forbear the Cardynall in these affayres, and use other curtesy to him as you see cause for his estate of Ferrar, as yourselfe did well make the distinction to himself. I must also praye you to take hede of Monsr. de Sevre, for he is very fine and nimble in all his practices. The Erle of Mountgomery is here: his coming is to sollicite the Quene to send more men into Normandy to joyne with the Prince of Condé, who he sayth certainly cometh into Normandy.*

It is hard in these things to gyve good advise without certain knowledg how thyngs are like to pass there. If the Kyng of Navarr be deade, it is lykely some change shuld follow.

I doo sende you herwith in cifre a letter from the Quene to the Prince of Condé, which I pray you cause to be sent as soone as ye maye, and I have taken order to send one

* This paragraph is in cipher in the original, but deciphered.

other by an other waye. The contents are to assure him that she will make no accord without him.* The Quene's Majesty hath willed me to thank you for your letter to her, which containeth good counsell. But she willed me also to warne you of the Cardinall of Ferrar, and to lett all the favorers of the Prince mainfestly understand, that without his consent you wold not enter into any treaty.

I thinke the Quene's Majesty will forthwith send over more power, but how many I know not.

Concerning Newhaven, we understand the strength thereof very well, from whence came on Satyrday last Sir Richard Lee, and we meane very shortly to send Mr. Portynary. Our men doo dayly fortify and perfect the works there, and they shall have to that end very shortly a number of mynors out of Cornwale.

That I lately wrote of the Erle of Huntley's † sodden death is trew, and by confession of his sonnes, it appeareth that he intended high treason to the Quene. Scotland is happely delyvered of the worst canker that it had.

I doo herewith send to you the copy of the answer made to the French ambassador which he shall have tomorrow, but he shall not have our wryting. I have spoken to my Lord of Bedford, for your request to have of his Italyon some little fyrkyn of salutations, but he smyleth therat, knowyng your sufficiency.

I have sent your letter to my Lord of Warwyk, which cost me the thugh heatyng of my hand. I have also advised hym how to use your letters. I wish some good meanes were used for intelligence betwixt you and his Lordship, now that Mr. Sydney is come from thence. Sir Hugh Paulett is appointed to resyde with my Lord of Warwyk. We are bold

* The foregoing is also in cipher.

† During this year, there had been discovered more than one plot against the Queen of Scots, by the Earls of Bothwell, Huntley, &c. Bothwell took refuge in England.

with all shipps that come into our ports, to cause them sell their grayne, wherof a grete number hath happened within these twenty dayes, by meanes of the south-west wynds. In Devonshire hath arryved twenty great hulcks laden with rye and wheate; in Portsmouth fowre, in Rye twoo, which be sent to Newhaven. And so I end. From my howse* over ageynst the Savoy. 17th Novemb. 1562.

Your assured loving frend,

W. CECILL.

RANDOLPH TO LORD ROBERT DUDLEY.

My humble deutie consydered. Since my laste letters unto your Honour, there hath occurred here no great matter of importance, which hath caused me the longer to staye my wryting.

Immediately after the defeate of the Erle of Huntlie, and execution done upon his sone John Gordon, and certayne other offenders to the number onely of six persons, the Quene's Grace departethe from Abberdyne towards Edenbourge, havinge lefte suche order in the north partes as she thoughte moste neadefull. At her beinge at Downotarre,† a castle of the Earle Marshall's, thyther comethe unto her Villemonte. Manye surmyses ther were what shold be the cause of his cominge. Suche as knewe hym beste coulde easylie conjecture that he came for little good. His whole arrant was to little effecte. He brought with hym fewe letters, and not one of great importance more then that the Quene mother dyd greivouslye complayne unto this Quene, of the Quene's Majestie my soveraigne, that she had possessed certayne of her sone's towns, and geven ayde unto his subjectes agaynst hym, which she thought wolde be a cawse of some greater

* Cecil House, in the Strand.

† Dunnottar, fourteen miles from Aberdeen. The castle, on a lofty rock in the sea, is now said to be the most majestic ruin in Scotland.

discorde betwene the realme of France and England then coulde sone be appeased. Where it was dowed that he had some privie commission from the Quene's uncles unto her, to cause her myslyke my mestres' doyngs, and that she sholde seme so farre to favour ther enterprises, that she wolde evil allowe whatsoever was done agaynst them, the truthe hereof hathe byne so farre searchyd that it is for certayne knowne, that he had no suche charge, and came rather to seeke some commoditie ether by service or other ways, then that he was sent by anye man. Of this I am assured, and therfore do the boldelyer wryte it. Marrie, he is a man that sayleth with all wyndes, and fashioneth himselfe to all men's fantasies that he hathe to do with. He speaketh to the Quene whatsoever she lykethe beste, and of my mestres' doyngs to her he speaketh dyspytefullye inoughe. I see here his credit little, either with her Grace's selfe or anye other. I have ofte tawlked with hym, but more accompte I thynke not to make of hym then I fynde cawse worthy. At Mounte Rosse* ther comethe one other, a servante of Mons. d'Amville's; of hym ther is no lesse thoughte then of the former. We looked then for none other than open warre, whereof the brute ran so faste before, that the Quene herself founde great fawlte therat. He arriveth abowte one hower before the Quene's supper. He presented unto her, in the syght of as maynie as wer in the chamber, onely one letter from his master, and moe than that he had not unto her. It contained three whole sheetes of paper. I was present at the deliverie, and sawe her Grace reade it greatlye, as it appeared, to her contentment. He reporteth the whole state of thinges in France, as well of the Prince and his power as the Guisians, with all the supportes, I thynke, as trewlye as he coulde. Dyvers and longe tawlke hath byne betweene the Quene and hym. The purpose is more secrete than is yet knowen unto anye, excepte

* Montrose.

it be unto the Lord of Lidingeton, who though ether he will not, or yet cannot assure me what his arrant is, yet dothe he put me owte of dowte that it nether concerneth my mestres nor anye thinge that can be prejudiciall unto her. I thoughte it better for a tyme to contente myselfe with this, then over earnestlye to presse hym for further knowlege then he was willinge to imparte unto me, though I will not so leave but rather lette tyme worke it. This advantage I have gotten by the hastie arrivall of these two gentlemen, and by the suspicion that is growne of their comynge, which gave all men occasion to thinke that theie came for lyttle good, that I perceive that if this Quene were bothe of wyll and power to annoye my mestres, that she sholde wante bothe counsellors thereunto and mynisters to be imployed therin, excepte such as dwell upon the borders, whoe what kynde of men theie are your honor knowethe righte well. Excepte that I had somewhat to perswade me thus to wryte, it were too great boldnes of me so to assure your Lordship. Touchinge the goodwill that is borne unto the Quene's Majestie my sovereigne, in the Quene herself I fynde it nothyng dyminished of that, that at anye tyme I have before wrytten. And in her subjects (I mean onelye the godlye), I fynde it so increased (in speciall since the supporte sent into France), that I thynke her Majestie the happiest woman alyve. Her Majestie's sickenes hathe byne hevily lamented, and God nowe as greatlye praysed for her recoverye, whom he for his mercie's sake so preserve, that his glorie in her actes maye alwayes be knowne unto the worlde !

At Dundie ther comethe unto the Quene the Duke to demand pardon for his sone in lawe the Lord Gordon, whom he hymself stayed by the Quene's commandement. He hathe receaved hytherto lyttle comforte, nor shall not knowe what shall become of hym before the Parliment, which wil be aboute Candlemas.

At Dundie I tooke my leave of her Grace to be before her in Edenboure, where she purposeth to be within eight

dayes, taking her jornaye by Sterlinge. I here that James Graye is arrived. He wente the nexte¹ waye to meete the Quene, and so I did mysse hym. This Quene at this present wrytethe to my Sovereigne, as also the Lord of Lidingeton unto your honour. My Lorde of Murraye willed me to present his hartie commendations unto your Lordship. He desyereth God to sende your Lordship to the increase of honor that latelye you have worthilie receaved, suche advancement as may be moste unto your hart's desier. Moste humblye I tayke my leave; at Edenbourge, the 18th of November, 1562.

Your honourable Lordship's at commande,

THOMAS RANDOLPHE.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, This morning your servant Barlow departed from hence, and to gyve occasion for the French ambassador's servant to come to you, I required hym to carry this symple letter. This daye he had bene satisfyed by my Lord Admirall, Mr. Petre, and Mr. Mason to all his complaynts. The gretest odd that is unanswered, is this, that the French of Newhaven send over much wares hyther, and sell the same as there owen, which I dowt may belong to Parysiens, &c.

We are about borrowyng a somme of mony lyke to Quene Marye's first lone, which shall be repayd we trust with the subsidy which the Parlement I trust shall gyve. The sheriff in your shyre is Mr. Bavyntyne.* 19th Novemb. 1562.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

¹ Nearest.

* In Fuller's lists there is no sheriff of this name in any shire, at this period.

SHANE MACGUIRE TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.*

In me moste harthy¹ maner I humbly recomende me unto your Lordshipp. This is to sertyfy your onor, that the laste jurney that Shan O'Neill made into this contrey with the helpe of Hyw O'Donnell, that the lefethe² nother house, nother corne in all me contrey upon the mayne lande onwastyd, nother church, nother sentory onrobyd, butt ther is sertayne ylonds in me contrey in the whiche ilonds standys all me goods. Butt your Lordshipp shall understand that Hyw O'Donnell has prepared and provyded twelve bottes³ for to robe and waste all thes ylonds, and Shan O'Neill is coming be land with all his power, so that I cannot skape nother be water nor be land, excepthe God and your Lordshippe doo helpe me at this nyd,⁴ for I doo promes to God and to your onor that all me contrey are agaynst me, because of ther grete lostys and for ferde of this nexthe jurney that Shan O'Neill and Hyw O'Donnell are wylyng to come, for all me men is pleasur is that I shuld yelde meself unto Shan O'Neill, for the safe gard of themselves and of ther goods. Wherfor I doo bechetch your Lordshippe to sethe some remedy in this mattheres, for ferde of me banyshment, and for ferde of dyvers others cawssys, that is to saye, and if the sayd Shan shuld take the possession of me countrey once into his own hands, I doo promes you that he would give ynough to doo to all the Quynys is subjectes to sethe hym owte of this contrey, and furthermore all the Northe of Irlond will holde with hym for ferde to be handyld as I am. Taking your Lordshipp is counsall as Lieutenant and ruler under the Quyny's Maygesty in this realme of Irlond, bechetching⁵ you to wrytte me no more letters in Latyn, because that I wold not that nother clerke nor non other man of this contrey

* The superscription to this letter is—"Unto his Ryghtt onorabell Lord the Erlle of Sussex and the Quyne's Maygsty is Leutenantt of this reame of Irlond this byll be delyveryd with reverance and spid."

¹ Hearty.

² They left.

³ Boats.

⁴ Need.

⁵ Beseeching.

shuld knowe your mynd, wherfor doo you wryte all your mynd in Englys. Your Lordshipp shall understand that I hard sey that your onor dyd gyve twenty-four marks sterling for the horsse that you did send me, wherfor I would be sory that you shuld cast awaye your mony so, for I thoughtt to send the horsse bake agayne if it had not ben for ferde to displeas your onor. And furthermore after that your Lordshipp did command some of your servants to send me four hand gownes,⁵ I promes you that I had lever in a manner that the had kypyth the sayde goones with themselves. Butt I doo thanke your Lordshipp for your good wyll,* desyring your onor to sethe no blame to your messenger for his lange taryment, for it was I that stayd him to the inthenthe that he shuld knowe all the newes of this contrey, desyring you to gyve hym creditt in all thyngs. Moreover, I pray you to be good unto Make Owelyn as to me good frynd, for I promes you that Shan O'Neill hathys⁶ hym above all men, as this berer may thel. Thus fare ye well to the plesur of God and to your nobell harthis desyr.

Wryten in Magwyr is Castell, the 25th day of November, in the yer of our Lord God 1562.

Be your dayly orator and por bedman,

SHAN MAGWYR.

Desyring your Lordshipp to send me non other man with

* This passage affords "a curious and admirable specimen," as collectors say, "of the feeling which has ever existed towards English government in Ireland, or rather of the misunderstanding which exists even to the present moment, caused by the dishonest agency of the characters which Miss Edgeworth has so graphically placed before the public as 'middle men.' Macguire, by his letter of the 15th of August, appears doubtful as to the delivery of the gosshawk, a valuable present by him to the Lord Deputy, and which he seems to think had been appropriated by the middle man. And now the horse presented to this chief by the Lord Deputy, as well as the hand guns, is probably changed by the middle man for one of little or no value.

⁵ Hand guns.

⁶ Hates.

your busynes but this present berer, for he is a man that I dare trust into any secrethe that I have.

THE BAILIFFS OF DUNDALK TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

Our humble duetie premised unto your honourable and discret wisdoms. It may please the same to be advertised that this instant, Saint Andrewes day, McMahown do campe uppon the borders of the Fwys.* Also ther is a grete host camping in severall places towards the circuyt of Maghirconnyll and this towne, intending (as we suppose) to invade us or the Englishe pale. Therefore it is necessary that the borders thereof be defend with horsemen; and that the town here be defended with fotemen. Beseching your wisdoms to send us thre score gunners, whereof six of them to be skilfull in shoting of great ordinances, and to take order that they may be victualled uppon the Quene's store, as Mr. Audley is band and Mr. Delvys is band was, when they lay here a twelvemoneth of the last Michaelmas, viz. in the last warre, for assuredlie the pore town is not able to beare them otherwise. And Mr. Myght to be commanded to make this provision out of hand, and to send the same by sea with all expedition, and the gunners to be sent to us forthwith, for this man is bent uppon malice, and to excuse himselfe by dissembling, (as far as we can understand), that it is nat he that do it, for he said to Sir John Bellewe † is messenger, that whatsoever is done is Godd's myracle, alledging that McMahoun,

* The Fews is a ridge of mountains which run across the county of Armagh.

† Of Bellewstown, and brother-in-law of Thomas, second Lord Louth, with whom and others he was joined in commission on the 13th of April, 1563, to be Justices and Commissioners for the preservation of the peace and good government of Drogheda and the county of Louth, during the absence of the Lord Deputy Sussex in his expedition against Shane O'Neil.

M'Genes, and O'Hanlon are the Quene's frends, and that he hathe not the rule of them, and if he had he wold correct them, and so what hurt is done are done by her owne and nat by hym, where of truthe our prey, and Sir John Belleweis prey are in his own contrie, and made by his own men.

Furder we beseech your Honor to graunt us a warrant that we may have a barrell of superfyne powder out of Carlingford, twenty bowes, and twenty shevys of arrows, togidder with a score of piks. It is no marvell that he make warre so long as he is victualled by bot from Drogheda and Carlingford.

And thus we humbly take leve. From Dundalk,* this last of November, 1562.

Your humbles,

STEPHEN CASHELL, Bailyffe.

JAMES DYLLON, Bailiff.

JAMES BRANDON.

JOHN CHASHELL.

ROBERT DOWDALL.

PATRYK STANLEY.

RANDOLPH TO CECIL.

Maye yt please your Honor, immediately upon the Quene's arrivall here, she fell acquainted with a new disease, that is common in this towne, called here the newe acquayntance, which passed also throughe her whole courte, nether sparinge lorde, ladie, nor damoyse, not so muche as ether Frenche or English. It ys a payne in their heades that have yt, and a sorennes in their stomackes, with a great coughe, that remayneth with some longer with other shorter tyme, as yt findeth apte bodies for the nature of the disease.†

* When Shane O'Neil afterwards attacked Dundalk, the town made a gallant defence, and he was driven away with disgrace.

† This disease resembles strikingly the complaint of late so well known under the name of the influenza.

The Quene kepte her bedde six dayes. Ther was no appearance of danger, nor manie that die of the disease, excepte some olde folkes. My Lorde of Murraye is now presentlye in it, the Lorde of Lidingeton hathe had it, and I am ashamed to say that I have byne free of it, seinge it seketh acquayntance at all men's handes. By reasons of these occasions I have not seene her grace since she came to towne. I was the unwillingler also to resorte to the courte untill the common brute of the takynge of Roan* was paste, where I shoulde either have harde that that wold have greved me, or perchance spoken that that sholde have greved other, for that I see nether measure in their joye, nor moderation in their doings, when anything (be it never so lyttle) come to their knowledge to be as theie desyer it. Hytherto theie knowe nothings for certayne but that which I have reported by suche advertisement as I had from my Lord President of Yorke, and that in suche sorte that nowe theie begyne to dowte what Honor was had of that victorie, or what great cause theie have to rejoyce. Ther came nether shippe nor man by lande owte of France since Chatellet came to the courte.†

Theie have as lyttle intelligence here as the coste is that theie bestowe to have it. Yet notwithstanding their neighbours of Barwicke wyll not spare to lette them knowe what theie here.

The Duke came unto thys towne upon Thursdaye laste. He brought with hym the Lord Gordon. By commandement of the Quene, upon Saturdaye he was committed unto the castle. Upon Sondaye at night the Duke supped with Mr. Knox, wher the Duke desyred that I shold be. Thre speciall pointes he hathe promised to perform to Mr. Knox before

* Rouen, taken by the Duke of Guise from the Protestants and their English allies.

† Chastellet, the servant of M. d'Anville, who the year following was encouraged by the familiarity in which the Queen of Scots indulged him to make an attempt upon her honour, and was executed.

me: the one is never to goe for any respecte from that that he hathe promised to be, a professor of Christ's worde, and setter forth of the same to his power: the nexte, alwayes to shewe hymself an obedyent subjecte to his soveraigne, as far as in duetie and conscience he is bounde: the thyrde, never to alter from that promes he hathe made for the mayntenance of peace and amytie betwene bothe the realmes.

I had of hym besides thys, manie good words myselfe touchinge thys latter poynte.

I wyll believe them all as I see them take effecte, but truste that it shall never lye in his worde alone. Before the parliament be appoynted, ther shal be a convention at newe yere's tyde.

We are desyrous to heare farther of the succes of things in France before we sommon our parliament, lest that we tyne our sillie poore masse agaynste our wylles.

There hathe beene here some good report made unto the Quene of the valiantnes of certayne of her subjectes in the defence of Roan, little I thynk to her Grace's contentment, but spoken by hym that yet never worde out of his mouthe came to her amisse, the Erle of Glencare, so that it was forced to be passed over in merrynes, whatsoever she thynketh. But yf neede were of anye suche men, in speciall of light horsemen, I beleewe ther wolde yet an honeste companie be founde that wolde be glade to receave entertaynment, and wold do well their partes.

I wryte it not unto your Honor, but that I thynke ther are of my owne countrie that can do as well as theie, but because I knowe dyvers here well wyllinge, and wishe that ther sholde allwayes be some in the eye of the papystes, that theie sholde not over well conceive of the whole countrie. I leave farther for this present to trouble your honour, most humblye takyng my leave. At Edenbourge, the laste of November, 1562.

Maye it please your Honor, Davis is arrived at the writing

hereof; it wil be two dayes before he receave his answer, and more I thynke cannot be sayde then is alrede written.

Your Honor's allwayes to command,

THOS. RANDOLPHE.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, although my leasur be small, that I am constrayned not onely to wryte to you the Quene's Majestie's letters, but also to all other parts, yet I will not leave to thank you for your private letters, praying you so to continew. That which my Lords here do fynd lack in, is that you kepe not a continuation in the order of your newes; as by your letters of the 29th of November, it appered that the prince lay in sege at Corbell, and by those of the seventh of this moneth it appereth that he was nere Pariss: but how he left Corbell is not wrytten. And we here have reports that Monsieur D'Aubmale was taken prisoner, but beyng not wrytten by you I do not beleve it.

Beside this, you wryte that D'Andelott should be still syck at Orleans, and Mr. Throkmorton wryteth that he was one of them with whom the treaty was had at Pariss. I marvell also that Mr. Throkmorton did not certify you what articles or conditions he offered to the prince.

You wryte of three thousand Spaniards newly arryved at Pariss; but from whence they cam appereth not. So as you see how in playne manner I wryte to you, praying you to interpret me to the best; for though I thus wryte to yourself, yet I doo not leave you unexcused here. By the letters which Killegrew's man brought I trust you are playnely instructed what to doo, and at this present I send unto you a copy of a letter from my Lord of Warwyk, by which ye shall understand of an accident there happened. Thereof you may also inform Mr. Throkmorton. I thynk best that Mr. Throkmorton shuld make no haste from the prynce.

We are fully bent to kepe Newhaven, by God's grace, against all France.

Sir Hugh Paulett* is gone to Newhaven only to assist my Lord of Warwyk. We have sent three old bands from Barwyk to come to Newhaven. We have there six thousand soldiers and three moneths victuals, and so will continew the victualling.

The whole perill is in that the number of the Frenchmen are ther so many, which we cannot gett thence without gret unkyndnes. But if the prynce there shall sever from us, we must be bold to put them out.

Herewith I send you letters to be conveyed to the prince from Monsieur La Haye here, where unto it is requyred that you will procure them some answer, and so for this tyme I end. 14th December, 1562.

Your assured to command,

W. CECILL.

Three shippes of Feckham, laden with wyne from Burdeaux, sett upon a little shipp of the Quene's, called the Hare, passing from Portsmouth to Newhaven, but the Hare tooke one of the dogges, with a hundred tun of wyne.†

The French ambassador may perchance complayn that his curriers are stayed at Dover, which groweth upon this. Of late he complayned that they wer evill used upon the way thitherward. And we for remedy devised that whensoever he wold send any, he shuld have either my letter, or Sir John Mason's.‡ And now he is not so contented, but

* According to Stowe, Sir Hugh Pawlett, in company with the Comte Montgomery, arrived at Newhaven on the 17th December.

† On the 25th of November, says Stowe, "the Queene's ship called the Hare, comming from Portsmouth, arryved at Newhaven, and in her came Sir John Portinarie, a man of great experience in fortification; they were by the way assayed by a French ship of ninetie tuns and better, but they that were aboard the Hare vanquished the enemies, tooke the same ship, and brought her with them, being laden with wines."

‡ Sir John Maston was born at Abingdon, in Berkshire, had been a distinguished courtier in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.,

would send without our knowledg, which we care not to relent, so your passengers might be as curtously used, and pass without passport.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, this brynger Mr. Somer must be and make my excuse at this tyme. I am much perplexed, because I know not what to thynk of Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, whether he was with you there the daye of the battell* or with them. I trust he was come to you, for we here nothyng of him otherwise. Our intelligence is not certen, but over certeyn we think it to be that the prynce is taken, so as the heade and staye of that faction remayneth dismembered from the body. And except Almighty God shewe his arme and power, this webb is undone, and new to beginne. We here are resolutely determyned to kepe Newhaven, except they there will resolve to restore us Calliss.

I pray you to advertise us how you here of the particularities of this battell, that I may compare the same with ours.
25 December, 1562.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, we are here much troubled with varietie of tales. From Flanders they wryte on the 11th of this month that

and was treasurer of the household to Queen Elizabeth, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. He died, according to Fuller, in 1566. Camden calls him *vir gravis atque eruditus*.

* Of Dreux, where the Protestants were defeated, and the Prince of Condé taken prisoner.

an accord is made. Some others that the Prince of Condee is in the Bastillion in Parris, and nothing certen.

The reports of any of our men lost at Harflew or Tankerville is fable. At Harflew the Rhynggrave lost fourscore of his horsemen, at which tyme Monsier de Beauvoise was hurt, and three of ours hurt with casualtie of fyer.

Tankerfeld was taken by Frenchmen, and to ayde them to kepe it thre hundred English wer sent thither, not with intent to kepe it agaynst an armye, or the cannon, but with purpose to depart by water uppon any such preparation. The keping of it hath served well for provision of corne and woode; and on Saturday last my Lord of Warwyk sent for the Englishmen, because he herd that the Rhynggrave and Vilebone had determyned to carry the cannon to it; but the Frenchmen being but forty wold not come away, and Captayn Sawle of his owne corradg wold nedes tarry there with fifty of his. But I thynk my Lorde of Warwyk will not lett hym tarry the danger.*

* Stowe gives the following account of the taking of Tankerville and Harfleur. "The same day at night (8th Dec.) the Double Rose with other boates passed out of the haven, (Newhaven,) Edward Dudley and Captaine John Warde being aboard, with other to the number of an hundred good souldiers, sayling downe the river, landed besides Tankerville, and lay close all that night in a wood. In the morning Monsieur Bimarre, ensigne-bearer to the countie Montgomerie, with sixe or seven Frenchmen unarmed, went to the castle gate, and there fell in talke with Monsieur Dimence, that was captaine of that fortesse, having about him tenne souldiers. Whilest they were thus in talke, the Englishmen and Frenchmen comming forth of the wood that was there at hand, reared up their ladders at the breach which was made the sommer before, and entring by the same, came down into the base court. Which thing, when the French souldiers that kept talke at the castle gate perceived, the captaine beholding as good as three score armed men within the castle at his backe, he suddenly yeilded himself, and in this sort was the castle taken, and the captaine brought prysoner to Newhaven. The 12th of December, the Earle of Warwike, Monsieur de Beauvoys, and Monsieur de Bricquemault, with all the horsemen, and three thousand footmen, passed forth of Newhaven unto

Captayn Horsey is gone to Depe, and Captain Blunt. The Comte Montgomery is a fast man in this cause, and being ayded will surely kepe Depe.

I thynk ye shall shortly here of an army provided here to be used, if your ambassador can doo no good. I pray you if Mr. Somer be still there, praye hym to buy me some such litle French bookes as he knoweth; I fantasye of cosmography or genealogies.

God send us good tydyngs from you. 14th Jan. 1562.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

I pray you make Sir Nich. Throkmorton privie to this letter.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, as I wrote yesternight by the French ambassador's servant that I wold with spede depeche this berer your servant, so I doo, although I wold he might have tarryd untill the provost of Paris had bene examyned. But seeing this ambassador maketh hast to inform the French Kyng of the fact, we thought it necessary for you to understand also so much as is doone. I send you the full informations of the matter betwixt the Spanish ambassador and the counsell, and a breeff of the materiall poynts of the murderer's confession. All thyngs

Harflew, out of which towne issued seven hundred reisters of the retinue of county Reingrave, and three hundred footmen, who fell in skirmish with the French and English very hotly, but the English drave them to the gates of Harflew, and slue them there, and upon the wals of the towne; yet was there not slaine past seven of the English part."

The castle of Tankerville was retaken on the 16th Jan., after a siege of eight days, with two thousand men.

Montgomery left Newhaven for Dieppe with four hundred harquebusiers, on the 26th Dec.

here in the realme are quiet, thanked be God! The parlement* is begun, and I trust shall be short, for the matters of moment lyke to pass are not many : reviving of some old lawes for penalties of some felonyes, and the grant of a subsidye. I thinke somewhat will be attempted to ascertyne the realme of a successor to this crowne, but I fear the unwillyngnes of her Majestie to have such a person known, will stay the matter.†

The Pooles and Fortescugh shall be arayned this terme.

A gentleman is arryved at Rye, sent from the Admyrall Chastillion, who assureth his purpose to prosecute the cause of God and of his contrey, and meaneth to joyne with our power in Normandy, which I trust shall make a spedy end of the whole. Indede, altho' this be the best, yet I thinke our dedes shall prove but bragges, wherefore you must also use the same course, to lett them understand that if accord and peace will not growe by treaty and reasonable speche, which hitherto the Quene's Majestie hath used, her Majestie must and will seke her owne by furder meanes, that shal more miscontent them than anythyng yet enterprised.

I doo sende you presently‡ the copy of the treaty betwixt the Emperor Charles and King Henry the VIII; the other was also extracted in breves, but I perceyve you are satisfied therewith by Sir Nich. Throgmorton, and so I end.

From Westminster, the 14th of January, 1562.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

Send me a note of the crymes and proper names, with their additions, of the two Englishmen for whose pardon ye wryte, so as I may cause their pardons to be made.

* Elizabeth's second parliament, which began to sit on the 12th of January, 1562-3, and was opened by the Queen in person, with great ceremony.

† In effect, it was in this parlement, very early after its opening, that the Commons petitioned so urgently for the marriage of the Queen, or the limitation of the succession, to which the Queen answered evasively and somewhat rebukingly.

‡ *i. e.* now.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, ye shall understand by Mr. Midlemore our estate here. We depend upon the proceedyngs of the two armyes, being so nere Orleance. Flying tales be brought hyther from Depe of battells or fights, but I doo hardely beleewe those reports. Mr. Mydlemore hath abydden here somewhat the longer, for that we perceyved that the French ambassador had receaved letters, and we thought mete to see the issew therof, which proved to nothyng but a demand of the provost of Pariss to be delyvered. Whereunto the Quene's Majestie meaneth to make such an answer as you may perceyve by a copy of the letter now sent, and within two dayes before Mr. Mydlemore's coming, the provost was committed to the Tower, where he is lodged over well, in the Quene's Majestie's owne lodgyng, beyng committed thyther because he used such practises wher he was, as by four or five letters intercepted betwixt hym and others doth appere, and by those letters he avowed that he wold not answer, but wold delaye the matter so, as nothyng shuld be gotten at his hand. And by his owne letters it is clerly to be gathered that he is guilty, which letters were partly wrytten with onions, and conveyed to and fro in stoppells of bottells, and some in his coddpieces of his hooss sent out to mendyng; but he is ignorant therof, that we have his letters.

Capt. de Hayss, the trafficquer for d'Anville, is returned, and pretendeth that d'Anville intendeth to come hyther with conditions for peace, but I guess his comming hyther is but for a passadg into Scotland, where they saye his hart is. We are ware ynough of their practises; if they meane well, we will joyne with them: otherwise they shall have words for words.

For your request to have your dietts payd by Sir Thomas Gresham, so it is in trowth that he hath not a penny of the Quene's in his hands, nor hath commission to take upp any, but hath due to hym more then we be redy to paye. I

have moved her Majestie as you required to augment your dietts with the odd fraction to make upp even crownes, but I cannot presently attayne it.

Her Majestie heareth not easily any increase of chardg: and yet as I see any opportunitie I will renew it. The pardons for three Englishmen which you desyre, are in wrytyng, but I dout how that of Molyneux shall be obteyned, and indede I cannot favor it, for he is one of the notablest theves in England, and hath bene sought for with great expeditions. The other two I trust you may promise.

Mr. Middlemore's coming is of weight, and therefor I pray you wey it thereafter, and devise some wayes to sende hym to place of service, which you there can better devise then we here, and so I wish hym well to spede. Of late on Candlemas daye, the two ambassador's howses were so watched that dyvers mass-mongers not of theire familye were found and taken there: the Spanish is angry, but the other onely pretendeth an anger.

The Erle Bothwell fleing out of Scotland, was taken besyde Tynmouth, wher he is in prison in the castle.

A subsidye is agreed uppon in the commons-house, lyke to the former,* with this amendment, the grant upon goods is

* Camden says, that this Parliament "made wholesome lawes for the reliefe of the poore, for matter of the navy, for maintenance and increase of tillage, for punishing of vagabonds, forgers of evidences, clippers, washers, rounders, and filers of money, phantasticall propheciers, conjurors or sorcerers, and perjurers, for translating the Bible, &c. . . . Moreover the estates congratulating the happinesse of the times, graunted unto the Queene, for religion reformed, peace restored, England with Scotland freed from the forreine enemy, money refined, the navy renewed, warlike munition by sea and land provided, and for the laudable enterprise in France for the securing of England, and of the young King of France, and the recovering of Callice, they granted (I say) the ecclesiastical men one subsidy, and the laity another, with two fifteenes and tenths. A *fifteene* and a *tenth* (that I may note it for forrainers' sakes) is a certaine taxation upon every city, borrough, and towne, not every particular man, but

from three pounds, wher the former was five pounds. The heades of both howses are fully occupyed with the provision of suerty to the realme, if God shuld to our plague call her Majesty without leaving of children. The matter is so depe as I cannot reache into it. God send it a good issue! and so I end. From Westminster, the 7th of February, 1562.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, Mr. Middlemore was redy, as they saye, even booted to have come towards you; but the coming of the Admyrall to Harfleur dyverted his jorneye, so as he went thither upon the tenth of this month. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton is also this night at Portesmouth to pass over. I doo forbear the returne of your servant, untill I may here from Mr. Throckmorton arryved at Newhaven. These six or seven dayes past here hath bene great tempests. I cannot see that any effect will come of the earnest suites made by the three estates to the Queen's Majestie, either for mariadg or stablishing of succession. All thyngs here are quiet.

I send you herewith a proclamation lately made, which ye maye shew to the Spanish ambassador there. I thynk every weke a month when I here not from you. The Admyrall of France shall have sufficient money to paye all his army, and one hundred thousand crowns (?) above. 18th Feb. 1562.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

in generall, in respect of the fifteenth part of the wealth of the places. A *subsidy* we call that which is imposed upon every man, being cessed by the powle, man by man, according to the valuation of their goods and lands. But neither is this nor the other taxation ever imposed, but by consent of the estates in parliament."

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, Mr. Sommer retorned hyther on Thursday at night, who, besyde the letters which he brought, was able to report of certenty that which we here wer very gladd to here, I meane of the hurt of the Duke of Guyse, whose soule I cold wish in heaven, and myne also.

Since Sir Nicholas Throkmorton went* to Newhaven, I have herd nothyn certen of the Admirall, but that he shuld have putt two thousand men into Cane; but the castel was held by the Marq. d'Elboeuf. His reystars shall receive theire paye, of the which Mr. Throkmorton carryeth with him twenty thousand pounds, and yesterdaye I thynk passed ten thousand pounds more from Portesmouth. This day commission passeth from hence to the Comte of Oldenburg, to levy eight thousand footemen, and four thousand horse, who will I trust passe into France with spede and corradg. He is a notable, grave, and puissant Captayn, and fully bent to hazard his life in the cause of religion.

The berer of theis letters cometh from the Lord of Led-dyngton, who is here, to motion to the Duke of Guise, and consequently to that King, that the Quene of Scotts his mistres might be a moyenes of peace, but how unmete a meane some will thynk her, I dowl. Nevertheless the office is mete for a Christian Prynce, and God send success!

I still stay your man untill we may here what the Admiral † shall resolve with Mr. Throkmorton.

And now I send you a packet which shuld have bene sent

* Sir Nicholas Throgmorton arrived at Newhaven the 14th of February.

* On the 8th of February," says Stowe, "the said Admirall came before Harflew with six thousand horsemen, reisters, and others of his owne retinues, beside footemen, and one thousand horsemen of the countries thereabout, and about sixe of the clocke at night, there was a great peale of ordinance shot off at Newhaven for a welcome to the said Admirall.

to you by Mr. Middlemore, if the Admirall had not come into Normandy : and although the tyme hath altered some thyngs therin, yet I do send the same, even sealed it upp as it was.

I am so fully occupied to expedite matters in this parlement that I have no leasure almost to attend any other things. A subsidy and two fifteenths are granted as bigg as ever any was. A lyke is granted by the clergy.

A law is passed for sharpening lawes agaynst Papists, wherin some difficultie hath bene, because they be made very penall ; but such be the humours of the commons house, as they thinke nothing sharp ynough ageynst Papists.*

Very good lawes ar in hand for increase of fishermen, and consequently the maryners and navy. Fish is much favored, and Wednesdaye meant to be observed lyke Saturdaye, and sondry other thyngs therein provided.†

I have bene author of a short law not exceding twelve lynes, wherby is ordered that if any man will sell any forrayn commoditye to any person, for apparell, and without redy mony, or without payment within twenty-eight dayes, the seller shall be without his remedy.

There is also a very good law agreed uppon for indifferent allowances for servants' wages in husbandry. Many other good lawes are passed the nether howse ; as for toleration of usury under ten per cent., (which notwithstanding I durst not

* It is no wonder that the feeling against the papists was now very bitter. The proceedings of the Pope, and of the foreign governments, was quite a sufficient excuse for any violence that might have been committed against them. At the Pope's council at Rome, this year, among other infamous resolutions, was the following. " A pardon to be granted to any that would assault the Queen, or to any cook, brewer, baker, vintner, physician, grocer, chirurgeon, or of any other calling whatsoever, that would make her away. And an absolute remission of sins to the heirs of that party's family, and a perpetual annuity to them for ever, and to be of the privy council to whomsoever afterwards should reign." The whole of these resolutions are printed by Strype.

† The Papists laughed at these fast days for the encouragement of fishing. The Wednesday they called Cecil's Fast (*Jejunium Cecilianum*.) See Saunders de Orig. et Prog. Schism. Angl.

allowe); another ageynst Egyptians; another to remedy the defrauding of statutes for tilladg.

Yesterdaie wer condemned two Pooles, Fortescugh, one Spencer, and Byngham, servants to the Lord Hastings of Loughborow, and one Barwyk.

Fortescugh confessed all, and so was atteynted, and is therby never to take hold of mercy. The treasons wer intents to come with a power into Wales, and to proclayme the Scottish Quene. The traytors seke their defence by saying that they ment it not before the Quene our Sovereign shuld die, which, as they wer persuaded by one Prestall, shuld be about this March. But I trust God hath more stoore of his mercyes for us, than so to cast us over to devouryng lyons.

I perceyve an Italyon of this citie is ther secretly. I know of his departure, but he had no errand of me, nor I thynk of any belongyng to this court: but offering service he was left to hymself. It is Cavalcant, who I thynk will not appeare to your sight a medler; nevertheless I thynk he meaneth well, and specially to gett reputation. I will sende your man as soon as I can heare from Newhaven. This last tempest hath cast away dyvers of our victuallers, some into Flanders, some to Calliss, some to Rues.

Sir Thomas Fynch goeth in place of Mr. Poynings, who returneth to his chardg.

Your old scollar Pern hath light into a gret mishapp, taken with a lewd manner in pyking of gold buttons, and since other bryberyes found in his chamber: it shall be hard to recover his name. 27th Febr. 1562.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

SIR JOHN MASON TO SIR THOMAS CHALONER.*

After most hartie commendations, with lyke thankes for your letters. The last came to my handes by your man

* Now Ambassador in Spain.

Kinge. These are to advertise you that the occasion you have no oftener heard from me hath bene longe sicknes, wherewith I have byn touched in suche sorte ever sythence Christemas, as neither had I anye power to write or to reede. I have nowe gotten the waye towardes healthe, thoughe yet I be not come to the ende thereof.

I lyke verie well your verses made in the commendation of Mr. Shelley,* whose worthines you well and justlie sett forth. And seinge in this tyme of leasure, you can be content to be occupied in suche vertuous exercises, I have thought good to sende you certaine verses which Mr. Haddon† sent me for a newe yere's gifte, wishinge that at ydle tymes, you woulde give an assaye to make them speake Englishe, wherein there is no haste, but as your own fansye shall serve.

It may fortune come to your eares that the Spanishe ambassador hath lately byne here verie yll used, as indede the matter mought have bene better used by suche as were putt in trust, who abused their commission. The trewth was that on Candlemas daye the Quene's Highnes beinge advertised that sondry of her subjects would that daye to bothe th'ambassadors howses to heare masse, and to be present at the rest of the ceremonyes wonte to be used on that daye, toke order by her councell that certaine should be sent to trie the trewth thereof. Who mistakinge their instructions, went malepertlye to the places where the ambassadors were at service, and there laide handes uppon certaine of her saide subjects. The meaninge was that they

* Sir Richard Shelley, a popish refugee.

† Walter Haddon, master of the requests, the intimate friend of Sir Thomas Smith. He was of a good family in Buckinghamshire, and fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and afterwards president of Magdalen College, Oxford, which he left on the accession of Queen Mary. Haddon wrote extremely good Latin. Elizabeth, who could appreciate scholars, said of Buchanan and him,—“*Buchananum omnibus antepono, Haddonum nemini postpono.*”

shoulde not have entred within the gates, which hath beene declared to the ambassador, and I suppose he be satisfied.

The erle of Hartforde, having by corruption of the keepers had secrett accesse by night to the Ladye Katherine, who by his companye hathe brought a boye childe to the worlde,* he has therefore byn called before the councell in the starre-chamber, and hath for that offence a fyne sett on his head of fifteen thousand pounds, for the payment whereof an extent is gon uppon his lands. His body to remayne in prisone during the Quene's pleasure.

Yesterdaye the elder of the Poolles and the seconde sone, with Anthony Forteskewe and four others, were arrayned at . . . hall, and were there charged that theie ment to go into France, and to use the ayde of the Duke of Guise for the making levy of six thousand men, to conveye the same in Maye next cominge into Wales, and there proclayming the Scottish Quene quene of Englande, and Arthur Pole, Duke of Clarence, to do their best to bringe the Scottishe Quene to the crowne, of which matter they were openlie convicted. Their onely defence was that they ment to attempte nothing in the Quene's life tyme, who by conjuration they had fownde should not lyve passinge the nexte spring. The rest of the matter was not denied; and Forteskewe confessed the whole without tryall. The other were tryed, but it fell owt as the other had confessed.

* This unfortunate couple was certainly very severely dealt with; and, in consequence, their cause was popular. On the 28th of January of this year, Sir John Mason writes to Cecil, "There be abroad both in the cite and in sondry other places of the realme, very brode speeches of the case of the erl of Hertford: summ following theyre lewde affections, and summe others of ignorance make such talks therof as lyketh them, nott letting to say they be man and wief, and whye sholde man and wief be lett from coming together? Theise speeches and others, as I am informed, be very common."—*Haynes*, p. 396.

Sir Edward Warner,* which I had almost forgotten, was, at first opening that the Lady Katherine was with child, committed to the Tower upon suspicion that he was not ignorant of the matter. But the matter falling out otherwise, his deliverye is looked for daylie.

Perne beinge on Shrove Sondaye taken with the cutting of certaine buttons from the Erle of Shrewsburie's gowne, and thereupon being had in suspicion of sondrie other pickeryes, was therefore committed to the Marshallsee, whither Sir John Bow... and a brother of his be also committed, I thincke for matter of religion.

The Earle of Shrewsburie's sonne and heyre hath married with the Earle of Pembroke's daughter, and the Earle of Pembroke's sonne and heyre hath married with the Earle of Shrewsburie's daughter.†

Bothe our howses have byn earnestly in hande with the Queene to appointe her successor, but she wyll not byte at that bayte, wherein in myne opinion she hath a better judgment then manye have of them that be so earnest in the matter.

And thus I byd you most hartelye farewell. From London, the 27th of February, 1562.

Your assured loving frend,

JOHN MASON.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, Although I have stayed your man long from you, yet if it wer not to offend you, I wold have stayed him longer ;

* The Lieutenant of the Tower.

† Francis, Lord Talbot, son and heir of George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, married Anne, daughter of William, Earl of Pembroke ; and Henry, eldest son of the latter, and his successor to the title, married for his second wife, Catherine, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

for that I have not sufficient matter from Sir Nicholas Throkmorton of his dealing with the admirall presently to send unto you.

The last tydings from thence was of the taking of Humfieu, wherin one Captain Lyons had two hundred soldiers. And after that done, the admirall intended to departe from thence, about the 14th of this moneth. So as I have ever sythens looked to have hearde from Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, which hitherto I have not, although I imagine to do before I ende this letter.

The admirall had delivered to him in money the valew of three hundrid thousand crownes, and an assurance for other three hundred thousand crownes to be employed upon some Almaine army this spring, if otherwise cold not follow.

The Conte Montgomery remayneth at Caen,* as lieutenant under the admyrall in Normandy. Newhaven is well ridde of the Frenchmen by theis occasions. And it is at this present very well manned and victualed.

And where you heard a bruit of certen nombres of Englishmen that should flee unto the Rhingrave, it is false, as it is reported. But yet some little occasion there was of that bruit; for two Englishe soldiers that had robbid their hoste's house in Newhaven, being a Frenchman, heering that they shuld be hanged or punished for it, fledde from justice, and for none other respect. Whom the Rhingrave wold not keepe, but sent them away to Roan.

Where you write of two impediments in the course of your treaty, the one growing by the Queene of Scott's mynisters, th'other by Cavalcant; I can assure you that her minister that is here, professeth as much earnestnesse in all his dealings to the crowne of England, as he can, and for that pur-

* The castle of Caen had been besieged by the admiral and Montgomery since near the middle of February. It surrendered on the 2d of March, and was followed by the immediate reduction of Bayeux, Faleise, and St. Loo.

pose did communicate with the Queene's Majestie his letters which he sent thither to the house of Guise. And therefore I thynke the Frenche are content to make some change themselves, because hoping to fish more out them than they can get of you; and true it is that he heere hath no more understanding of our means then the Frenche ambassadeur ought to have.

As for Cavaleant, he hath wholly sought his merchant-lyke negotiation (as it seemeth) to do himself good, without more regard to th' one syde then to th' other, and so have I judged and dealt with him.

The Provost of Paris's cause hangeth in theis tearmes. He forbeareth to answer, untill th' ambassador obteyned lycence that Monsieur de Vaux might only see him in the Towre, without use of any speeche. And after that done, he hath made answer in writing with his owne hand falsely for the matter, and yet verie fondlie for himself. The cople of his answer I send you herewith. Th' ambassador coveteth to have him delyvered. But it is meant he shall make some better answer to the matter; and therafter receyve such grace as his frends shall have reason to allow.

By your last letters and coplees of other letters sent to you from Orleans, I see your great diligence, and to speake in proper tearmes, you deale verie cunningly, meete for the place you hold. The party which serveth your turne shold be well cherished and kept out of danger, whereby his service may last the longer. I have notified him and his service to the Queene's Majestie, and so wold you did let him know. Whylest I am writing theis letters, I feare the peace is made at Orleans there, without consideration had of us;* and if it be so, I know the worst, which is, by stout and stif dealing to make our owne bargain, and so is the Queene's Majestie fully bent and intended.

* The Prince of Condé and the Protestants made a peace with their enemies at Orleans, without any consideration of their friends, the English.

Here hath happened two dayes past a lamentable chance. Sir Thomas Fynche* being appointed to be Marshall at Newhaven in the place of Sir Adryan Poynings, taking shippe at Rye with thirty gentlemen, wherof two were brethern to the Lord Wentworthe, and some others of his name, were lost with the shippe besydes the Camber, coming in (dryven to retorne upon fowle weather), before the tyde was full to serve him. The losse is greate, and he as muche lamented as any man of his degree in anye parte of England.

God send you power to gyve the Queene's Majestie occasion to doo you the pleasure that you motioned, and therein I offer you my whole power.

From Westminster, the 21st of Marche, 1562.

Your assured to command,

W. CECILL.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON† TO CECIL.

Sir, I understande a gentleman, one Skelton, verie neare my native towne, is departed, and doubteth nothing but my countrymen make goode spede for the wardeshippe. My meaninge is not at this tyme to hinder anie particular sute: but I have ofte thoughte to make a generall sute to you for regarde to that little angle wher I was borne, called Cowplande, parcell of Cumberlande; the ignorantest parte in religion and moste oppressed of covetous landlords of anie

* Sir Thomas Finch, son of Sir William Finch, who had distinguished himself in the French wars in Henry the Eighth's time, and the direct ancestor of the present Earl of Winchilsea. He was sent over to Normandy as Knight-Marshal of the forces in Newhaven.

† Edmund Grindal, who was born at the village of Hensingham, near the town of St. Bees, in Cumberland, in which town he afterwards founded a free-school. He was master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. In Queen Mary's days he took refuge in Frankfort, where he was during the troubles there. He was of a very amiable, meek, and pacific temper. He died in 1583.

one part of this realme, to my knowledge. I intende at my next coming to you, to discourse more largely of the state thereof, which, Godde willynge, shall be shortelie. I have no more to saye for this matter, but onlie to praye you if your graunte be not fullie past, to take order bothe for the goodde education of the warde, and not to leave the poor tenantes subject to the expilations of those countrey gentlemen without some choyse, wherein if it please you to understande myne opinion, I will utter it simplie, accordinge to my understanding. Godde keepe you! 17th Maij, 1563.

Yours in Christe,

EDM. LONDON.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO CECIL.*

After my hartie commendations to your Honor, considering and understanding none otherwise but by common reporte of the same, in what state the realme nowe standeth, molested universallie by warre, and particularlie at London by pestilence, and partlie here at Canterburie by famyn, the people wanting their necessary provision, as is reported unto me, I thought it good upon my private consideration to call upon the Mayor and his comynaltie on Frydaye laste, to mete with me at the cathedrall church, where I did myself exhorte them unto prayer, &c. And for hereafter have appointed them Fridayes to be used with prayer and preachinge, and Mundayes and Wednesdayes in their parishe churches, prescribing that common prayer that was apointed in the Swise's-tyme, alteringe a fewe wordes in the same.

Sir, this I have done, not enjoyninge the lyke to the reste of my diocess, nor to the rest of my province, for the want of sufficient warrant from the Prince or Councell, wherof I do marvell that I have no advertisement. And although ye maye saye, we by our vocation shoulde have spe-

* The famous Matthew Parker.

ciall regarde of suche matter: yet, because we be holden within certen lymits by statutes, we maye stande in dowte howe it wil be taken if we shoulde give order herin, and therefore do not charge the reste of my diocess with injunction, as leaving them to ther owne libertie to follow us in the citie for common prayers, if they will. If I had your warrant, I wolde directe my precepts, as I thinke verie necessary, to exercise the saide publique prayers. And thus putting so muche to your consideration, as I am sure otherwise fullie occupied, I wishe you the assistance of God in all good counsell.

From my house at Bekesbourne,* the 23rd of Julie, 1563.

Your Honor's alwayes,

MATTHUE CANTUAR.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON TO CECIL.

I thinke we are bounde to Godde (his visitation at Newhaven considered†), if we have tolerable conditions, moche more if they be honorable.

I praye you amonge your weightie affaires (as you maye) remember to give to my Lord Mayor, and soe other godly honeste persons, order for the poor afflicted Frenshe, exiled for religion, that they be not taken as prizoners (as they now are at London), by virtue of your late proclamation,‡ wilfullye wronge understood, lest that be one meane to instigate Godde's ire. I have sent to Quintin, your man, to remember you of poore Leache's case.

* Bekesbourn, near Canterbury, a favourite place of retirement of the Archbishop.

† Newhaven was so severely visited by the plague, that the English were glad to quit it on any terms.

‡ The French, after the peace with the Protestants, had issued a proclamation, ordering reprisals on the English till Newhaven should be given up, in answer to which a similar proclamation had been made by the English government. The bishop's hint was not thrown

I set forward to-morrow to Farnham,* having lefte the booke† in some readynesse, and willing Jugge to wayte upon you with it. I carrie Mr. Deane ‡ with me.

I am bownde to you and my Lady, that it pleased her to use my rude howse so frendly : her course heare deserved no thanks. Godde kepe you ! 1 Augusti, Saturday, 1563.

Yours,

EDM. LONDON.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

If you have wrytten anythyng sence Barloo cam from thence, you have no such cause to marvell as we here have : for sence his arryval here we have contynued in daylye expectation to here from you, how you, Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, wer accepted there, and, behold, in the midst of our expectation, the first of August, in the morning, cometh the certenty of the rendryng of Newhaven, which, seing it pleased Almighty God to visit with such incurable infection, being as it semeth a denne of poyzon, it was well bargained to depart it.

What you now doo, we looke dayly to here ether from you, or by you, Sir Nicholas Throkmorton. As the tyme and carryer is, I can wryte no more. My Lord Admyrall is here ;

away. “ Aug. 5. Proclamation that no English, by colour of a Proclamation made the 13th of July, should molest any of the French dwelling gently in London.”—*Burghley's Journal*.

* Farnham in Surrey, whose castle was a very ancient palace of the Bishops of Winchester. Bishop Grindal, who left London for a time to escape the plague, chose this place that he might enjoy the society of his old friend and fellow-exile, Robert Horn, Bishop of Winchester.

† The Book of Prayers for the Plague.

‡ Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, who had in the first instance drawn up the Book of Prayers for this occasion.

my Lord of Warwyk at Southwyk, by Portsmouth. 4th August, 1563.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, Sence Barloo's arryvall here, the 23 of this month, we can here of no manner of letters or message brought to the French ambassador,* who lyeth here at Eaton, better lodged than ever he was in England, at liberty to walk and ryde wher he will, and so he useth to ryde much abroad. And therfor if he do not make very good report, he doth not deserve so good handlyng. He percease thynketh that somebody regardeth him, but he is not therof sure.

My Lord of Hertford and my Lady Catharine, because of the plague, are thus delyvered: he with his mother, as prisoner, she with her uncle my Lord John Grey.†

The hostages,‡ also being afraid of the plague, shall be put to some custody abroad, but not as prisoners. I thynk two of them to Sir Richard Blunt's howse, nere Reddyng, the other to Mr. Kenelm Throgmorton and Mr. Caroo §. All our determinations depend upon such matter as we shall here from this French ambassador, who semeth much to muse that he can here nothyng.

We here of sondry attempts intended against the Iles of

* The French ambassador had been put under restraint on account of the imprisonment of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton by the French.

† In whose custody she died no long time after, and then the Earl of Hertford was set at liberty.

‡ Given by the French for the delivery of Calais. They had lately made an attempt to escape. "June 19. All the hostages were taken going away with John Ribald."

§ Perhaps one of the family of the Carews, seated at the splendid residence of Beddington, in Surrey.

Jersay and Gernsaye, for which purpose we have sent thither shippes and men.

They dye in London above one thousand in a weke.*

I can wryte no more by this brynger. 20 August, 1563.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, I dowt much that if ye be at Pariss, and the Kyng still in Normandy, you are separate from all opportunity of service, specially from helping Sir Nich. Throkmorton. I see you shall wyne great good will to recover him, and I thynk they have so small colour or pretence, that much labor must

* The plague began in London on the 2nd of August. It had been imported from Newhaven, and made its appearance first in Kent. The whole number who died of the infection this year in London and the out-parishes, was 20,136. In the churchwarden's accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster, printed in Nichols's *Illustrations of Manners and Expenses*, under this year, we have the following entry:—

“1563, Item, to John Welch, for the killing and carrying away of dogs during the plague, and for the putting of them into the ground and covering of the same, 3*s.* 2*d.*”

And so again in 1592, when there was another very severe visitation by this destructive scourge.

“1592, Item, paid to the dog-killer for killing dogs the first time of infection, 16*s.*

Item, paid more to the dog-killer, for killing more dogs, 10*s.* 10*d.*

Item, paid more to the poor men for the killing of dogs, by Mr. Dean's appointment, 10*s.* 4*d.*

Item, paid more to the poor men for killing of dogs, 17*s.* 6*d.*”

The dogs were supposed to spread the infection—a similar notion is said to exist in the East. The most curious thing, however, is the number of dogs which, by the sums of money paid, must have been killed in this latter year. It would almost seem as though at that time troops of dogs who had no masters, but lived on the offal which was thrown into the streets, infested London, as is still the case in many towns in the East.

obteyne hym. I marvell with what impudency the Quene Mother can answer her own letter to you, when you signified that some were coming.

Good Mr. Smyth, employe all your creditt, and assaye the Protestants there, to do somewhat lyke to theire promises. I marvell what answer the Prynce and the admyrall can make for the money lent them.

The French ambassador here hath all honest entertaynement, and the hostages shall be delivered into the countreye, for feare of the plague. If other contrary report be made, require that the bearer hereof, the French ambassador's secretarye, may be demanded, and if he shall say to the contrary, let hym be required by you to wryte that he sayth. And so I end. From Wyndsor, the 3rd of September, 1563.

As yet I here not of Wm. Killigrew.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

SIR EDWARD WARNER * TO CECIL.

Sir, I most hartily thank you for your gentyl letter of late sent me by my servant. I have therby good occasion to thynk your frendship passeth not away with myne absence ; the which to my power I wil ever be redy to acquyt. Sir, the loss of Newhaven so sodenly, and in such sort, as it semeth, I am sorry for, to the bottome of my hart. But ageynst God's ordynance no man can stand : and not deming otherwise than by the proclamation, I leve it, many tymes thynkyng of you, of the last word that ever ye said to mee : which was, that you envyed my felicitie. And truly I thank God, I lyve here, though poorly, yet very quietly, and the countrie presently, thanks be to God ! very clear of al sycknes, or other penurys other then now and then a shyp taken by the French. God

* The lieutenant of the Tower.

continue the one, and send sum spedy order for defence of the other. And now I say to you, that with all my hart I pity your burdene and travelsome lyf.

You know I have often wysshed you to seke som relefe. Ye shal therby avoyd both envye and danger. But now perchance ye wil thynk I am too busy ; and therfore I wold no furer in these matters. But this I say, and you shal trust to it, if I were able eyther with counsel or otherwise to pleasure you, ye shuld be sure of it.

Sir, my Lady Kateyrine is, as ye know, delyvered ; and the stuff that she had, I wyssh it were sene, it was delyvered by the Quene's commandement, and she hath worn it now two yere's ful, most of it so torn and tattyred with her monkie and dogs, as wyl serve to smal purpose. Besydes, that she had one other chamber, furnished with stuf of myn, the which is almost all mard¹ also. Now, Sir, I wold be lothe to have now any more busynes with my Lord Chamberlayn, if it please you to move a word to hym, that I may quyetly enjoy it ; for that it was delyvered by the Quene's pleasure, I trust he wyl be so content. If I have it not, sum of it is fyttter to be gyven away, otherwyse then to be restored to the wardrobe agayn : and that I justify with my hand. If he lyke not that I shal have the bed of down, I shal be content to forbear it. I send you here inclosed a bill of the parcels, with some notes in the margent truly written.* If it please you to

¹ Marred.

* The following is the inclosure sent with this letter, which has been separated from the letter, and bound in another volume ; the letter being contained in MS. Lansdowne 7. art. 33, and the inclosure in the same collection, vol. 5. art. 41. The observations in the margin are here printed within brackets.

"Stuffe delivered in August 1561, by the Quene's commandment and the Lord Chamberlayn's warrante, by William Bentley, owt of the wardrobe in the Tower, to Sir Edward Warner, Knyght, then levetenant of the said Tower, for the necessarye furniture of the Ladye Kateryn Graye's chamber.

Furst, vi peces of hangings of tapestry to hang her chamber. [Thes be of dyverse sorts, and very owld and corse.]

let me know your pleasure herin by two or three lynes, Sir William Wodhouse wyl se it sent unto me, and whatsoever it is, I shal, as becometh me, take it in good part. And I pray you, bere with me that I trobyl you with such a trifle. And thus I wysch you prosperous felicitie, with increase of godlines. From my poor house at Plumsted, nere Northwylch. This 8th of Sept. 1563.

Yours most assured to command,

ED. WARNER.

THE BISHOP OF ELY* TO CECIL.

Syr, Havyng occasion to sende to my Lord Keper, I thought to salute you in two wordes. I have nothing to say, but in all doings, sayings, and wrytings to praye, God be mercifull unto us ! God fighting agaynst us with his plague, our enemies with swords, we agaynst our owne selves with

Item, iij wyndowe peces of lyke stuffe.

Item, a sparrer for a bed of changeable sylke damaske. [All to-broken, not worthe *xd.*]

Item, one silke quylt of red striped with gold. [Stark naught.]

Item, one bed and bolster of downe, with ij pillowes of downe.

Item, one whyte linning quylt stuffed with woll.

Item, ij payer of fustians, th'one of vj bredthes, th'other of fyve.

Item, ij carpets of turkey makyng. [The woll is all worne away.]

Item, one small wyndowe carpet.

Item, one chayer of clothe of golde, cased with crymson velvet, with ij pomels of copper and gylt, and the Quene's armes in the backe. [Nothing worthe.]

Item, one cushin of purpell velvet. [An owld cast thyng.]

Item, ij foote stooles covered with grene velvet. [Old stolys for King Henry's feet.]

Item, one cubbard joyned.

Item, one bed, one bolster, and a counterpoynt for hyre women. [A meane bed.]

† Richard Coxe, born at Whaddon in Buckinghamshire. He was tutor to King Edward VI ; was made bishop of Ely in 1559, and died in 1580.

shameles and open synnes ; God be merciful ! The prayer and fasting published abroad being so godly, I hope will do good. I wolde wish those strangers * of the Gospell mighte have favour, though theyr countrey men be our enemyes. God in his lawe ever tendreth the stranger. We must tendre them *cum sint domestici fidei*, and God shall tendre us the better. God be mercifull to us, and prepare our harts to pray and hear our prayers too !

I trust, in this dangerous tyme, the courte is now not a courte, but a college of godliness. *Dominus Jesus te nobis diutissime servet incolumem.*

From Somersham,† the 12th of Sept. I pray you, see what you can, that our dear Soveraygne may be saffe, mery, and godly. *Iterum vale.* 1563.

Your assured,

RICHARDE ELY.

MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER ‡ TO CECIL.

I commend me hartely to you, and think that the Quene's Majestie hath done very well to prorogue the parliament to October twelve monthes, and to adorne the terme to Hillary next. The exchequer and the recit wil be well kept in Syon. And for the tryall, of that I have sent. And at Shene§ the

* The French refugees.

† Somersham in Huntingdonshire, where the bishops of Ely had formerly a magnificent palace. There are now no remains of it.

‡ Sir William Paulet, first Marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer of England both in this and the two preceding reigns, till his death in 1572, at the age of ninety-seven.

§ The palace of Sheen in Richmond. It was a house of the king as early as the reign of Henry I. ; was allowed to fall into decay in the time of Richard II., but was restored by Henry V. Queen Elizabeth had been imprisoned there. During her life it was her favourite residence, and in it she died. The name of Richmond was not given to this town till the reign of Henry VII.

courts of the Wards and of the Duchy may be well kept, if Mr. Sackvile * can be so pleased, whereof I dout, because he hath no other lodging nigh hand out of London; to whom I have written, and shall have answer from him with spede. And upon his answer I shall returne you perfect knowlege in all that matter. The mony unpayd of the sales is betwene five and six thousand pounds, I know well.

I have sent you notes of such warrants as I think good you procure at the Queene's hands for the better spede of her Majestie's causes. I have written you a better accompt of the Duke of Florence's dett, and of my Lord of Westmerland's dett. The merchaunts' dett, with the interest when you last putt over the same to this next November, was thirty-three thousand pounds; and of that Mr. Bird hath discharged, and saved the interest upon the point of ten thousand pounds. So there resteth to pay, I think not full twenty-three thousand pounds; to that must be added the interest upon twelve or thirteen in the hundred, as you did engage with them, whereuppon were made no writings bycause they stand upon their surety of the Queene's land. And upon that they will call fast in November next, for then is their day to have payment with th' interest, as Mr. Bird hath sent to me divers tymes, with whom I have taken order, to take the merchants' bills in payment, so they will receive no interest, wherein he will apply his diligence as the matter will serve.

And for the furtherance of that matter, I think good the Queene's Majestie writ in some letter, and willed to see the merchants paid, and when I have paid to five thousand pounds, to call for a privy seale for such or more as the case shall require, because the privy seale cannot be nedeful for the whole.

The surveyor of the works can delyver you a bill of all the Queene's houses of service: for he is not without one in his purse, another in his head.

* Sir Richard Sackvile, who was under-treasurer of the exchequer.

And as this was written, Arthur Dakins, deputy receiver of Eboracum, wrote me answer to my letters, and therin writeth that my lord of Rutland * died at Wursope, in his journey towards London, of whom the Queene hath lost a good servant. Thus fare you well.

Written the 23rd day of September, 1563.

Your loving frend,

WINCHESTER.

I thinke no howse of the Queene's † about London within twelve myles meet for her Grace's accesse to, before the feast of All Saints. Then I note you theis howses after wrytten to serve if need require.

Hatfeld.

Graftone.

The Moore.

Woodstock.

Langley, no good wynter howse, and yet my Lady's of Warwycke for tearme of life. Homewards from Langley I cannot bryng the Queene but by Reding and by Newberie, where they die. Wherin may be great perill, more then I wish shold be.

I think her Majestie's best waye, where her Highnes now is in Wyndsore, if health there continewe: though the howse be colde, which may be holpen with good fyres. And if her Highnes shal be forced to remove, as God forbid, I think then best the houshold be put to boarde wages, and certayne of the counsell appointed to wayt, and herselfe to repayre to Otland,¹ where her Majestie may remayne well, if no

* Henry Manners, second Earl of Rutland, who finished the building of Belvoir Castle.

† "The Queen was nowat Windsor, whence, for the danger of infection, he advised that she removed not." Note by Strype in margin of the original. The queen, after all, did not go further from London than Windsor. She also passed the winter there, during which time she is said to have read and studied much.

¹ Oatlands.

great resort be made to the howse, and by this doing the perill of all removes shall be taken away, and the great charge that thereof followeth; and there is at hand Hampton Court, Richmond, and Eltone, large houses for rooms, and good ayre. And nowe colde wether and frosts will bringe helthe, with God's helpe. The rest of the houses the Surveyor can name you.

Your frend,

WINCHESTER.

Warrants to be made

For Ireland.

	£.	s.	d.
The Merchants Adventurers,			
The Surveyor of the Works for . . .	300	00	00
And more for the repair of Hatfeld . . .	100	00	00
For the Groomes of the Chamber . . .	100	00	00
For the buildings and extraordinaries of			
Barwick	7000	00	00
To the armorie upon their bill . . .	7951	00	00
To th'ordnance upon their bill . . .	7186	00	00

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK * TO CECIL.

After so longe rest, having this convenient messenger, Master Askam, I cannot omit my hartie salutations in these fewe wordes, and therwith most hartely desiring you that I may knowe the privye counsell's pleasure, by your good meanes, concerning the imprisonmente of the Scottish priestes remayning in the castell of Yorke, whereof I have advertised the Lordes of the counsell by my severall letters, and as yet have not knowne theire pleasure therein. I am constrayned to trouble you with this sute, partely for pitie of some of them being utterly destitute of reliefe, and such as I hope well of for the tyme to come, and partely for theyr contynual crying uppon

* Thomas Young. He was one of the second batch of bishops created in this reign, when he was appointed to the See of St. David's. He was translated to York the 20th of February, 1560.

me. And thus I byd you most hartelie farewell. From my manor, at Cawood,* the 3rd daie of October, Anno Dni. 1563.

Your loving frende assuredly,

THO. EBOR.

PIERS BUTLER† TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My most humble dutie to your Lordship premised, these are to advertise your honor that Sir Edmund Butler, Mr. John Butler, James and Edward Butler, my Lord of Ormond's brothers, came in warlike array, with their trayn, the second of this present moneth of October, and invaded and spoyled my poore tenants and countrey under the Quene's Majestie of the value of one thousand pounds in cattell, household stuff, and apparel, as though they were mortall enemyes, alledging that I have caused the White Knight's‡ sonne to take the prey of a villadg called the Grag, and that my sonne § and others of my men were assisting him in so doing. And the same allegation being made by him, the said Sir Edmond, after the said enormous spoyle, was by me answered in this manner, that I would myself deliver such persons as he should name of my men, or at my leading or commandments offending, into th'hands of the suffrain¹ of Clonmell, the mayor of Waterford, or any other indifferent man, to be tried according to justice. Which he did refuse, and refused also to restore any the goods to the poore men, unles he had pledge into his hands for the contentation of his own desyre, which I thought not indifferent using me,

* Cawood Castle, on the Ouse, in Yorkshire.

† Piers Butler is not, as may be presumed from his signature, Lord Caher, but younger brother to the first, uncle to the second, and father of the third, Lord Caher.

‡ Piers Butler's daughter Evelyn was married to the White Knight's son; subsequently the White Knight.

§ Theobald Butler, created the third Lord Caher.

¹ Sovereign.

after the like extreme sorte, as he is accustomed to serve me. What further disorder or spoyle shalbe committed by him I know not. Therefore, my good Lord, for as moche as, God knoweth, I am guiltles in any matter the said Erle or Sir Edmond do lay to my chardg, yet I am pleased to deliver such persons as shal be named to me of my servants and men, to have offended the said suffrain or maior or other indifferent men, in hands to answer for suche things as shal be objected against them, which I thinke to be sufficient, and if it be not, I will always be prest and ready to do any thing your Honor will think reasonable, humbly beseching your Lordship, for as moche as I and all myn must be forthcoming to answer before all suche judges and commissioners as your Honor will think indifferent for me, beseching your Lordship therfor not onely to command my said Lord of Ormond to cause the said Sir Edmond and the rest of his brothers to restore the poore men to their goods, but also to see correction done for the said disorders, and even see to command them not to commit any the like offences hereafter, if it will stand with your Honor's pleasure, the rather that the said Sir Edmond is bolder to committ the like, for that no order is taken with him for his manifold injuries done to me without occasion ministered of my side, as knoweth the Lord, who did have your honorable estate in his.

From the Cahir,* the 11th of October, 1563.

Your Lordship's assured to command,

PIERS CAHIR.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK TO CECIL.

Whereas I understande that the parsonage of Awthroppe,† within the diocese of Lincolne, and neverthelesse bordering upon my diocese, is nowe voyde by the deathe of the late incumbent there.

* In the county of Tipperary.

† Authorpe, in Lincolnshire.

I am now occasioned to commend unto you one Mr. Thomas Lakyns, Master of Arte, and one of my contynuall preachers, borne in Lincolneshere, and worthie for all respects to have that roome, if it were foure tymes the value. It may please you therefore, accordinge to your accustomed goodnes, to commend the said Mr. Lakyns unto the Quene's Majestie, who is the patron thereof, so that by your good meanes he may have the preferment of the same. I wold her Highnes had good store of such men to bestowe her presentations upon. And yet ones againe I moste earnestlie desire you that I may be advised of the counsell's pleasure concerninge the Scottishe priestes, whom, by virtue of their honorable letters, I have imprisoned in the castell of Yorcke.

If I were not well persuaded of your vigilance and carefullnes in placing of offices, I wold somewhat travell with you by my writinge that in the placing of the president of the Northe, there mought be due consideration and foresight that the factions and partaking in matters of reformation and justice might be well mett withall, which hitherto hath too muche reigned in these partes, to the greate greefe of the good sorte of people, and encouragement of the evyll.

And thus, with my verie hartie commendations, I committ you to the tuition of God, who assiste you in all your doings, and give you healthe bothe of bodie and sowle.

From my Manor of Bysshopsthorppe, the 5th of November, 1563.

Yor loving frend, assuredlie,

THO. EBOR.

THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE TO CECIL.

Beyng not able to rendre condigne thanks (right honorable consailor) for your manyfolde kyndnes towards me contynually declared, but especially tenderyng so moche my late sicknes, for your travaile in my licence obtainyng, without which my life had ben in danger: because I can no otherwise recompence it, I shall contynue my prayer to God for your pre-

servation, and be ready with my poore service to my power. God hathe sent me better helth, but not yet perfect. His wil be done! Tenderyng the state of this contrey, I am compelled to make suite for your furtherance in remedying the same. And firste, by the absence of the Deane of Carlill, Mr. Doctor Smyth, that church goeth to decay : their wodes almost destroide, a great parte of the livings under color conveyed to their kynsmen, themselves takyng the profits, and that for three or four-score years, their statutes appointing but onlie twenty-one. Where for reparations is allowed yerlie a hundred pounds, ther nothyng done. And wher thirty pounds is allowed for the poore and mending the highe-wayes, almost as little is done. No residence kept ; no accompts ; the prebendaries turning all to their owne gayne ; which when I go about to reforme in my visitation, can take no place, because they are confederate together, and the losses their owne. Three of them are unlearned, and the fourth unzealous. Brieflie the citie is decaid by them, and God's truth scanderyd. Consydering the warden of the marches, whomsoever it pleasith the Quene's Majestie to appointe, (to my poore judgement,) it were good ther were some wise, grave men of experience adjoined with him in commission, for it is harde to fynde a man that shall not quicklie be corrupted here, and buye and sell poore men, their goods, and lives. I am so vexed with the church, not for my own matters, but matters of the late Bishop Oglethorpe,* that my liberties helpe me not. Wherefore I am compelled to sue for the Quene's confirmation, in the which I desire your lawfull furtherance. The lyke I beseche you to extend towards the poore citie of Carlile, which is sore oppressed, and therefore decaid. From the Rose Castle in Cumberland, by

Your orator,

JOANNES CARLIOLEN.

* Owen Oglethorp, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle, by Mary, in 1556, and was deprived in 1559. He it was who crowned Elizabeth.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, I beseech you, procure for me a booke of Dionisius Halicarnass. of late yeres printed, not of the story, but of Thucydides.* I meane, you see, by parcells to fall into dett with you, but I pray you lett me know certainly the prices thereof.

The bearer herof, Mr. Cambell, is a very honest gentleman, and one, I thynk, that may be trusted.

Mr. Somers departed from hence yesterdaye. Our adventurers in the west have hitherto good ventures. Yesterday Mr. Stuckly† cam to the court, with certen French captayns

* Probably this was the edition of Dion. Hal. de Thucydidis Historia Judicium, Andrea Duditio Pannonio interprete, printed by Aldus at Venice, in 1560.

† Thomas Stukeley was one of the most extraordinary characters of the age in which he lived. He was, according to Fuller, a "younger brother of an ancient, wealthy, and worshipful family," near Ilfracombe in Devonshire. One of the name was Sheriff of Devonshire, early in Elizabeth's reign. Among the old ballads in the British Museum, are two copies of a ballad on Stukeley, which has been printed in Evans's Collection of Old Ballads; in this ballad he is called (incorrectly, perhaps) "a wealthy clothier's son," and the following odd account is given of his early history:—

"He serv'de a bishop in the west,
And did accompany the best,
Maintaining of himself in gallant sort.

Being thus esteemed,
And every where well deemed,
He gain'd the favour of a London dame,
Daughter to an alderman,
Curtis he was called then,
To whom a suitor gallantly he came."

They were married, and then—

"Thus, in state and pleasure,
Full many days they measure.
Till cruel death with his regardless spight,

whom he tooke coming from Florida. They wer the Frenchmen whom John Rybault left last yere in Terra Florida, which perceaving that Rybault cam not, thought best to come from thence in a vessell made by themselves.

Bore old Curtis to the grave,
A thing that Stukely wisht to have,
That he might revel all in gold so bright.

He was no sooner tombed,
But Stukely he presumed
To spend a hundred pound a day in waste ;
The greatest gallants in the land
Had Stukely's purse at their command.
Thus merrily the time away he past.

Taverns and ordinaries
Were his chiefest braveries,
Golden angels there flew up and down ;
Ryots were his best delight,
With stately feasting day and night,
In court and city thus he won renown.

Thus wasting lands and living,
By this his lawless giving,
At length he sold the pavements of the yard,
Which cover'd were with blocks of tin,
Old Curtis left the same to him,
Which he consumed lately as you've heard.

Whereat his wife sore grieved,
Desiring to be relieved,
" Make much of me, dear husband," she did say.
" I'll make much more of thee," said he,
" Than any one shall, verily :"
And so he sold her clothes, and went his way."

The earliest document I have yet met with relating to Stukeley, is a note of Privy Council, at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, (1558,) relating, apparently, to a legacy which he claimed. " A letter to Thomas Stukeley, that where order was heretofore given him to forbear to enter the houses, open the chestes, or meddell with the goods of serjeant Predeaux deceased, he hath contrary to that order sithens so don, he is therfore eftsoones required to abstaine from the medling therwith, untill the lawe shall have determynd the right herin,

We heare a bruit that the Conte d'Egmont shuld come hyther in ambassade, but it semeth so strange that I cannot yet beleve it.

The deth of London the last weke was 300. The terme shall be kept at Hartford Castell. From Wyndsor, the 28 of November, 1563.

I pray you contynew your occurrences, whatesover hath bene therin misreported to you.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

as he will answer for the contrarye, and to delyver the same goods by hyll endentid, for the redelivery wherof, if the lawe shal be founde on his side, bondes are already taken here." (MS. Lansd. 238, fol. 5, v^o.)

Stukeley, says Fuller, "having prodigally misspent his patrimony, he entered on several projects, (the issue general of all decaied estates,) and first pitched on the peopling of Florida, then newly found out in the West Indies. So confident his ambition, that he blushed not to tell Queen Elizabeth, that he preferred rather to be sovereign of a mole-hill, than the highest subject to the greatest king in Christendom; adding, moreover, that he was assured he should be a prince before his death: I hope, (said Elizabeth) I shall hear from you, when you are instated in your principality. I will write unto you, (quoth Stukeley.) In what language? (saith the Queen.) He returned: In the stile of princes: To our dearest sister."

Haynes has printed an order of the Queen to the Earl of Sussex, then in Ireland, dated June 30, 1563, stating that, "our servant Thomas Stuckly, associated with sondry of our subjects, hath prepared a number of good shippes well armed and mann'd, to pass to discover certen lands in the west towards Terra Florida, and by our licence hath taken the same voyadg," and ordering that he should be received in Ireland, if driven there by stress of weather, "which, if he shall, he hath agreed to doo any manner of service ther, that shall be thought agreeable by you for our purpose." It appears that a part of Stukeley's commission was to take French ships, which were to be held until the intentions of the French king were better seen. According to Fuller, his Florida project failed for want of money.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, I hartely thank you for your letters. I am sorry that you shall be so soddenly interrupted, as by the Quene's Majestie's letters you shall see occasion. The causes come from hence, as I thynk, by letters or reports, or both, brought hither by this brynger, Barnaby. He sayth nothing to me of those thyngs which I heare otherwise he hath sayd. The particularities I will rather utter to some of yours, than wryte at this tyme. I feare thyngs be not evenly carryed. But sence, by such occasions as her Majestie hath gathered by advises brought by this messenger, she is resolved, as I see, to pass another way, and change her cours, I must obey, and conform myself therunto, and so must you, praying God that therof may follow that which her Majestie desireth and looketh for.

This alteration of your speche into Latin, I thought to be very strange, but surely her Majestie hath had occasion ministered by such reports as now wer brought, to thynk the same best. And therefore, consideryng I know very well ye can doo this in the Latyn as well as any man, I nothyng dowt but ye will well do it. The French ambassador desyring audience on Mondaye,* was differed *ad incertum diem*, which he taketh greevously. But I thynk he shall be herd this daye or to-morrow. Of late he hath conceaved some offence to me uppon this occasion. Stuckley staying uppon his voyadg into Florida, and sendyng some of his shipps to the sea, to aventure agaynst Frenchmen, took certen Frenchmen that wer out of Florida, being of the nombre which Rybault left there.† And being here at the court with the

* Probably, on occasion of a brawl he had had with the provost of Eton College,

† Florida, said to be so called because it was first visited by Europeans on Palm Sunday, was discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon, whilst in search of the "*fountain of youth*," which a legend of the natives of

chieffest, he putt hym to liberty uppon his fayth, conditionally, that he shuld speake with no Frenchman. But yet the prisoner stole to Eaton to speke with the ambassador, and Stuckley hearyng therof, sent for hym, and beat him; wherwith the ambassador being offended sent to me to complayne, and I rebuked Stuckly therfor roundly, although he did reasonably justify it, &c. The daye following the ambassador's secretary cam to know what I had done. I told hym how I had rebuked Stuckly, and what his answer was. "Well," quoth the Secretary, "my master will advertise the Kyng, who will revenge it." "What," quoth I, "Monsieur, ye are too hoote, ye speke herin but foolishly:"—using the word *sottement*. "Why," quoth he, "call ye me a foole?" "No," quoth I. "but I tell you what I thynk of your words." Hereuppon he departed furiously, and so the ambassador conceaveth much offence agaynst me; but I must wear it away. The Regent and the Estats of the Bass Countrys have commanded that none of our clothes shall come into the countrey before Candlemas, for feare as they alledg of the plage; but we may suspect worse. They sprede very ill rumours of lack of justice, of pillage, &c.* Indede, some cause they may have at this

Puerto Rico placed in this part of the world. The name was then applied much more extensively than at present. The part which the French attempted to colonise during the religious troubles of the reign of Charles IX., was by them called *Carolina*. This French colony endured incredible hardships, and was finally extirpated by the Spaniards, who sent an expedition for this purpose in 1564.

* "The councell of king Philip at Bruxels," saith Stowe, "commanded proclamation to be made in Antwerp and other places, that no English shipp with clothes shoulde come into any places of their Low Countries: their colour was (as they sayd) the danger of the plague, which was at that time in London and other places in England. Notwithstanding, they would gladly have gotten our wooles: other causes they alleged, as the raising of importes as wel upon goods inwards as outwards, as well upon Englishmen as upon strangers, &c. Also for that in the first parliament of the Queene's Majestie, by a statute then

tyme, when our adventurers have the seas so much, and miss a Frenchman's vessell to seeke French goods in Flemings' vessells. But surely these complaynts are augmented with malyce and fraud, to sow division betwixt us and the king of Spayn, and especially by the Esterlyngs, and such as wold have our merchants less favoured in Antwerp. Heruppon it is thought mete to appoynt an extraordinary commission, to heare and determyne their complaynts summarie; and also to send Mr. Lews or Dale with a report of all the orders and judgments gyven in ther favor, sence the deth of the Bishop of Aquila.*

Sir Thomas Challoner being dangerously sick, without hope of recovery, but by returning, is now revoked upon that consideration, and offer made to the Kyng to send one thyther or into Flanders in his stede.

Indeed we covet rather to have hym in the Low Countries, for there we see most use of an ambassador.

You maye take occasion to speke of this matter to the Spanish ambassador there, so as if he shuld here any thyng hereof, he might by you know the truth.

It appereth to me by indirect speche here used, that at this tyme it is understand that you and Mr. Throkmorton shuld not so well accord, as wer mete, wherof I trust, nevertheless, both you for your wisdoms will have regard, and one of you

made, divers wares and commodities were forbidden to be brought into this realme out of Flanders or other places, being wrought there, which was done to the end to set our subjects a worke here, as by the statute doth appeare, for that no man, English or stranger, might ship out any white clothes undrest, being of the price above 4 pounds, without licence, &c.; but the Queene's Majestie through sute of our marchant adventurers, caused the wooll fleete to be discharged, and our cloth fleete was sent to Emden in East Friseland, about Easter next following, in an. 1564."

They complained also of their ships taken and plundered by privateers and free-booters on the seas.

* He died in London in this year.

beare with the other, for so shall ye both deserve commendation. And so I end. From Wyndsor, the 16th of December, 1563.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

THE BISHOP OF ELY TO CECIL.

Syr, hitherto I have made you no answer to your frendly letters, which ye sent me in September last, wherein were lyvely sparkes of godlynes, wishing us to preache and cry out for repentance, which undoubtedly ought to be one principall poynte of all preaching; and with all the layemen (say ye) talke in corners. That example in preachers were never worse, so covetouse, so indiscrete, so rash, so negligent they be, &c. for Christ's passion. Let every priest, high and lowe, be burdened particularly. Let it be said to the accused, *redde rationem villicationis tuæ, &c.* Let them not be sclandered generally, and snatched at in corners; that is no charitie, nor godly policie, for this is the fetch of the adversaries of truth, whether theie be neuters, papists, or carnall gospellers, to deface the parsons, that the worde may be discredited, and theie *interim licenter vivant, genioque impune indulgeant, &c.* For my parte, I loke dayly to be called before the judgmente seate of Christ; my travaile is to presente hym an upright conscience. Touching the former faults: *Nihil mihi conscius sum, sed non in hoc justificatus sum.* In other sorts besyde the clergyes, it is *toto* horrible to see the wyckednes abroad. It is true almost everywhere: *dixit insipiens in corde suo, non est deus.* I feele sometyme, will I, nill I, the heavy affection which was in David: *Deduxerunt oculi mei lachrymas quia non custodierunt legem tuam.* I praise God, that the Queene's Majestie (as you wryte) is such a good student, &c. But when all is done, the majestie of the scripture is that that pierceth: *vivus est sermo Dei, &c.* *Chrysostomus et Græci interdum Pelagianizant, Bernardus monachizat.* I trust her Grace meddleth with them but suc-

cisivis horis, nam alio eam vocant negotiorum undæ. I wish her Majestie somtymes to be well refreshed and pleasante, *ut possit durare et diu vivere.* Hosius' bokes flye abroad in all corners, *unica gloriatio omnium papistarum,* who swarme in all corners, saying and doing almost what they lyst. You have encombered me with one, &c. If Godde's adversaryes and the Queene's may be thus tolerated agaynst God and the Queene, and we preach and crye against them, and be mocked and gyred at, and dayly sclandered in corners, *intolerabilis fuerit dei offensa formidandaque pietatis et regni ruina.* Syr, Mr. Straunge is a good and a zealous gentleman, the Queene's Majestie's olde and most faithfull servant; he is very poore and in debt, forced to sell his office, and not able to sustayne his familie: I pray you put yourself in his case, and helpe hym as ye maye. *Dominus Jesus te nobis diutissime servet incolumem.* From Downham,* 28th of December.

Hartylye yours,

RICHARDE ELY.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, here hath of late been such accidents, as hath dayned your servant Barloo from a full depeche theis fifteen dayes. The matter for accepting of the election of my Lord of Leicester to be of that ordre,† hath bene here sondry tymes dyversly intended, sometime to accept it alone, sometime with a companion, and for hym some alteration, sometime my Lord Marquess, sometime my Lord of Sussex, sometime my Lord of Norfolk hath bene required. In the end the Quene's Majestie meaneth to differr all. And besyde this variation, wherin wer spent almost twelve dayes, the

* Downham, in the Isle of Ely.

† The King of France had elected the Earl of Leicester to the order of St. Michael, on the conclusion of the peace.

cold here hath so assayled us, that the Queene's Majestie hath bene much troubled, and is yet not free from the same that I had in November, which they call a pooss, and now this Christmass to keep her Majestie company, I have bene newly so possessed with it as I cold not see, but with somewhat ado I wryte this. I have made four several letters for her Majestie to wryte to you, but nether hath she had commodite to sign one, nor now doth the contents remayne to be signed. But I hope within two dayes her Majestie will be able to signe, and then your servant shall not tarry six howres after. Her Majestie is only combred with payne in her nose and eyes, otherwise she is, thanked be God ! in good and perfect helth.

On newe yere's daye shall the intercourse open, and thereof I send you that which shall be proclaimed. By your servant, I will advertise you of other things.

And so I take my leave. From Westminster, the 29th of December.

We have had perpetuall frosts here sence the 16th of this month. Men doo now ordinarily pass over the Thamiss, which I thynk they did not sence the 8th yere of the reign of King Henry the VIII.

Here are no newes with us at all.

Yours assured,
W. CECILL.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, I have much cause to thank you for your frendly dealing with me, and as much or more cause to prayse you for your oppen and playne dealyng, which I assure you on my fayth I doo allow more in you, than any other poynt of your frendshipp. I love wisdom and honor it, but when slights and crynks are joyned therewith, as I am sorrye sometye to

see, commonly thereof followeth infinite incommodities both to the partye that useth them, and to them also that are therewith advised. I know the place which I hold hath bene of yeres not long passed, adjudged a shopp for cunning men, and yet surely I thynk the opinion commonly conceaved therof, hath bene worse than the persons deserved. Some cause I have so to thynk, that, knowing before Almighty God my disposition to deale with all men playnely, and indede my unhabilitie, or as I may saye of myself my dulness to invent crafts, yet do I not escape evill judgment, desyrous to avoyde as much as I maye that opinion; and wher I cannot, content with pacience and testimony of my own conscience to endure. But behold I am entryng at a lardge gate, to behold myn owne misery, which for avoydyng of you trouble I will not pursew now. To your self I will now come; you have not bene well used, but by whom percase you maye know better than I. You have bene also well used, and of whom I will not speke, consideryng I know no man hath done more then honesty and reason wold. I have told this berer somewhat, whom I take to be honest, quyett, and wise: and gladd I am that he commeth, although your servant Wilson was by me first appoynted to have gone, but upon another occasion, as Mr. Sommer shall tell you, that was changed.

I have spoken with Wilson, whom Mr. Sheres frendly advised to be playne with me, but in talke with hym, I thynk he intended rather to serve his promise made uppon a slight ground, then his duety being required by you. All that he telleth me touchyng myself, was that he should saye, that if I wer sent into France to treate with you in this matter, I might do more good than another, a matter barely told, but I thynk it had many other branches, which surely I do not esteeme. God amend them that, meaning to make trappes of mallice, are for the more part trapped themselves. I shall speke lyke an Italian ideott! God send them both to 'amend, and to doo as well as I wold myself, and this I saye with the testimony of a good conscience; which mynd I gather not

of any other philosophy, but of his precepts that hath commanded me to love my enemyes, for therein onely is the difference betwixt a Christian and a gentile. For yourself I nede give you no counsell, but I wish you to have the lyke mynd. For when all the glorye and wytt, when all the wealth and delyte of this world is passed, we must come before that Judg that will exact this rule of us, to discern us from the gentiles. Good Mr. Smyth, take my low base stile in this fond moode in good part, and behold it not with the wisdom of the world, for though my outward actions are most commonly in publick thynges of the world, yet, I thank God, I doo submyt all my conceites and thoughts as mere folly, to the wisdom and piety of the gospell. You may saye it is strange to see a secretary of estate, that is an artificer of practises and counsells, to fall thus low into divinitie. Well, so symple I am, whatsoever the world may judg of me for the place, and therein percase I do deceave the world.

Now shortly to our matter: you are willed to make peace, but the meanes are prescribed, which I and others thought unlykely three months past: but now I fynd dyverse here persuade themselves with the contrary. Surely you shall have good luck and great praise, and therfor labor it. I was gladd this berer should come to gyve a testimony of your dilligence, fayth, and wisdom, for so shall he do you much pleasur. And although the matter seme hard, yet forbear not to use all meanes to recover it, wherein, being obtayned, your praise shall be the greater, and being not, yet they which have desyred it, shall thynk your labour well bestowed. Indede if our other neighbor on that syde the seas, wer as inward a frend as reason wold even for his own interest, I then wold not dowl of this good end. But as this berer shall shew you, the case is otherwise. I hartely thank you for the Polydore, and for Onuphrius: Onuphrius' works I had recovered here before, but Polydore not. If you please the Onuphrius shall be kept for yourselfe, or if I may know the price, I will gladly paye for them.

I send to you herewith Mr. Haddon's booke,* which I pray you procure with suerty to be published, and add some commendations of your hand wher and as you thynk well.

My Lord Robert shewed me your letter sent to hym by Barlow, and did much commend your playnnes of wrytyng to hym, which he confessed to be both wisely and frendly done, † and so I thynk surely it to be allwaise the best waye to deale, for though playing under the bord prove sometyme the jugglers, yet we see by prooffe in frendshipp it lasteth not, but bringeth inconvenience. I have informed Mr. Somer of the negociation here of a secretary of Flanders, and of thyngs dependyng theruppon.

I send you Haddon contra Osorium. I pray you use some expedition for the publishing therof, and procure some good body to cause it to speake French. By the next I will send you the copy of the obligation for the money receaved by the Admyrall, wherin her Majesty would have you procure a more certayne answer of the tyme and manner of payment.

11th Januarij, 1563.

Yours very well assured,

W. CECILL.

* Jerome Osorio, a Portuguese, and a good writer of Latin, had published in that language a bitter attack on the Queen and the English church. It was printed in France, both in Latin and French, and an English version was afterwards published by an English seminary priest of Louvain. Walter Haddon wrote also in Latin an able answer to this book, which it was thought convenient should be printed in France, where Osorio's book had come out. The French government could not handsomely refuse the licence to print Haddon's book, but various pretences were used to hinder or delay it.

† See Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith, for an explanation of this affair.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO CECIL.

Sir, for that the contrye here is in much preplexitie and feare, douting what may followe of the preparation they heare of made by the Frenche, I thought good to write to your Honor privately howe small soever my skyl is in such causes. I trust ye will beare with that in respect of my zeale to my contrye. Indeed the feare ryseth upon consideration that Dover Castel, Walmer, Deale Castel, Wynborowe Castel, be as forsaken and unregarded for any provision, the contrye destitute of the Lord Warden, or of a Lyvetenant, to whom in suche straighthes men myght resort, the people but feble and unarmed, and commonly discomforted.

This daye I sent my man into Tenet to Sir Henry Crispe, who standeth in muche doubt: he hath understanding of a Frenche pynneys to have searched as far as the Temmys mouth to knowe how the Queene's shippes be appointed. He thinketh they be like to land in Shepeye, to kepe the Queene's shippes within the Temmys, and not to come forth: wherupon they may be the bolder to arrive, and if the contrye be not comforted, I feare that som folkes of welth will be removing their housholde and substance: upon which example more may do the lyke, but that I repose my wholl trust and confidence, next to God, in the Queene's Majestie's carefulness and your prudent foresight towards this quarter, (I have no great trust in the furnytur of men, munition, or artillery), I wold ellys be carryed with mistrustes of the worste, as other men be most commonly. I also sent another messenger to Dover, to the Lyvetenant. The people in the town, as he reported, be amased, and have their hearts cold to heare of no preparation to ward this feared myschief, though you see fully all maner of procedings and can note the furdest sequel of them, yet in my opynion it wer not amisse through some participation of advyses proceded into these quarters, to sprede them abroad to the staye of the people, for to whom to go, upon whom to staye, they knowe not.

We have too fewe justices betwixt Canterbury and Dover now. I wold Mr. Edward Boyes were one, whom I take to be a honest stayd gentleman, &c. Some of our justices go to the terme, and a fewe remayn.

I praye your Honor send me some information by this my servant, not for that I can see any abilitie in myself to do service that waye, yet I could cause my neighbours to trust well, and cause my chaplayns to comfort the people in their sorrows in the poore villages, and this is the best we can do in our skylle, beseeching God to assist the Queene's Majestie in all your circumspections, *ita maturare consilia vestra*, that peace and veritie may still reign amongst us in our dayes.

At my house at Bekesborne, the 20th of Januarye.

Your Honor's assured,

MATTHUE CANTUAR.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON TO CECIL.

The Duke of Wirtemberge's gentleman, which you commended unto me, returneth herewith to court againe. I coulde have ben contented to have hadde his companie lenger, I lyke it so well. He was a student in the civile lawe at Strasburge when I was there, but we were not there acqaynted: By occasion of talke, we have somewhat differed in opinion concerninge Brentius'* doctrine of *ubiquitie*, which he semeth to approve, and not I; but so as we wer contented one to heare another's reasons, and eche to suffer other to abounde in his owne sense. The Duke of Wirtemberg his master gave at one tyme to the exiled Englishe† at Strasburg three or four hundred dallars, besydes that he gave at Frankfurde.

* John Brentius, or Brentzen, one of the German reformers. He died in 1570.

† The refugees in Mary's reign.

If ye thinke it convenient I wolde wishe ye moved the Queene's Majestie to make some signification to the bringer that her Highnesse hath hearde thereof, that it may appeare his liberalitie is not altogether buried in oblivion, or only if some remembrance thereof passe from your mouthe, it might do goode. Godde kepe you.

From Fulham,* 24 Januarij, 1563.

Yours in Christe,

EDM. LONDON.

THE BISHOP OF NORWICH TO JOHN FOX.*

Salutem in Christo Jesu. I have receyved your loving letters, and do understand therby your visitation at Godde's hand in this tyme of mortalytie; you are not ignorant that so he is wont to chastise whom he loveth. As touching the prebend, what I with other your frends have done in that behalf, I am sure you have heard, howbeit the successe is not suche as we hoped at Mr. Foule's hands; but ther is one Mr. Smith, in Cambridge, that hathe another of the prebends, who, as I heare, can be content to parte from the same uppon reasonable conditions.

Good Mr. Foxe, appointe you to come downe as soone as convenientlie you may, and doubt you not God wyll provyde for you either that or some other thing as good, whereunto there shall want nothing in me that I am able to do.

And thus with my hartie commendations to my good

* Where the Bishop of London has still a palace, the gardens of which owe much of their beauty to Bishop Grindal. He was a great promoter of botany, and is said to have first imported the tamarisk tree.

† The celebrated John Fox, the martyrologist. During Mary's reign he had taken shelter on the continent, where he had contracted a close friendship with Parkhurst. He was now waiting for some preferment in the church, and particularly desired a prebend of Norwich for the sake of living near his friend. He was some time after made Prebend of Salisbury.

friendes with you, I commyt you to the keeping of Almighty God.

From Ludham,* this 29th of Januarie, 1563.

Your assured frend,

JOHN NORWIC.

My Lord Deane of Christ's Church was appointed by the Duke's counsell to preache at the buriall of the Dutches.† The whiche thing he had done, if I had not sent my letters to them, offering my service in this behalfe, for although the other could do muche better than I, yet I thought it my bounden duty to do all things that I might to Godde's glorie to do honor to the Duke's grace.

Therefore the Deane buried her, and I made the funerall sermon, 24 Januarij. All thinges were done honorably, *sine crux, sine lux, at non sine tinckling*. There was neither torche, neither taper, candell, nor any light elles besydes light of the sunne. Singing there was ynough. I have sent to you here inclosed a letter, written to me from Dr. Gesner,‡ and two catalogos. The one for you, to searche by that the Quene's librarie, according to Dr. Gesner's request, and to ask of other learned men concerning the same.

The other I pray you send to Dr. Sampson or Dr. Humphrys,§ that searche may be made in Oxford also.

One I have sent to Mr. Beaumont,|| in Cambridge, that he may do the lyke.

I wold rather be negligent in other things, then in setting forthe old ancient writers; and yet to say the truthe to you, I lyke no olde wryter worse then Dionysius, the which, al-

* Ludham, a village about ten miles from Norwich.

† Of Norfolk.

‡ Conrad Gesner, the famous naturalist, born at Zurich, in 1516, and died in 1565.

§ Thomas Sampson, Dean of Christ Church: and Lawrence Humphrey, President of Magdalene College.

|| Dr. Robert Beaumont, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

though he be somewhat ancient, yet I am persuaded that it is not Areopagita ille de quo Act. 17.

I pray you certifie me of these thinges as sone as you maye, and if a bloodhound or twayne might be sent to Zurich, according to Dr. Gesner's requeste, I wold rejoyce not a little, and wold be contente to pay for the charges thereof. I wryte this unto you, because you be so good a hunter, and have suche plentie of dogges, &c.

I praye you when you have perused Dr. Gesner's letters, that you will send them againe forthe to me, that I may make answer to the same against the nexte carte.

Commende me to Mrs. Fox, to Mr. Day* and his wyfe, and thanke him for the boke of the Reliques of Rome which he sent me. I will thanke Mr. Becon,† which dedicated the same to my name, another time, if God so will. Yf you see the Bishop of London, the Deane of Paul's, Mr. Whitehedd, and other of my frends there, I praye you salute them in my name.

Yours,

JOHN NORWIC.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON TO CECIL.

Mr. Calfhill this morning shewed me your letter to him, wherein you wishe some politick orders to be devised against infection. I thinke it verie necessarie, and will do myne endeavor bothe by exhortation and otherwise. I was readye to crave your helpe for the same purpose afore, as one not unmindefull of the perill. By searche I do perceive that there is no one thinge of late is more lyke to have renewed

* Day the printer.

† Thomas Becon, a zealous English reformer, who died about 1570, He was a voluminous writer, and published books so early as 1541. The book here referred to is the "Reliques of Rome," printed by Day in 16mo. in 1563. In the folio of Becon's works, printed in 1564, is a Latin epigram in his praise, by Bishop Parkhurst.

this contagion, then the practise of an idle sorte of people which have ben infamous in all goode common-weales, I mean these *histriones*, common players, who now daylie, but speciallye on holydayes, set up booths whereunto the youthe resorteth excessively, and there taketh infection: besydes that Godde's word is by theyr impure mouthes prophaned and turned into scoffes. For remedie wherof in my judgement ye should do verie well to be a meane, that a proclamation was sette fortheto inhibit all playes for one whole yeare (and if it wer for ever, it wer not amisse) within the cittie, or three myles compasse, upon paynes as well to the players as to the owners of the houses where they playe these interludes.

I wrote to Mr. Dr. Humfrey, of Oxforde, to kepe the daye appoynted him by my Lord of Rochester, which he will observe, I doubt not.

As I counselled Mr. Calfhill to knowe your pleasure for his repayre to courte, so I shall praye you to let me understande your advise for myne own case concerning my sermon, whether I remayning here may be admitted, and the lyke for my chaplayn, Mr. Wattes.

I was compelled to remove hither, bothe for the better discharge of myne office, and also for that I was destitute of necessarie provision at Fulham.

Yet I thoughte then, the cittie wolde have been cleane ere now. Godde kepe you.

From my howse at Powles, 22 Febr. 1563.

Yours in Christe,

EDM. LONDON.

CECIL TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

I am right sorry that these incident matters of the rebellion of the O'Mores are drawn for argument to prolong your coming from thence.

I assure your Lordshipp ther lacked no good will in your frends for your particular interest to procure you spedy return thence. But you may see it hath not bene thought mete neither by her Majesty, nor by her whole counsell, that untill the ende of that rebellion be seene, you should come thence. And therfor your Lordshipp must arm yourself with contentation, and remedy it when tyme shall better serve.

My Lord, this matter of resort of pyratts,* or if ye will so call them, our adventurers, that dayly robb the Spaniards and Flemings, and make port sayle in that realme, is a matter of

* It is inconceivable at the present day what destructive depredations were committed at this period on the shipping of other powers by the English under the colour of voyages of discovery and mercantile adventure. The continual necessity under which the government lay of giving orders of reprisal on the French or the Spaniards, rendered it impossible to put a stop to such depredations, and in spite of their complaints, when they found themselves to be the greatest sufferers, it cannot be denied that the foreign powers, and particularly the Spaniards, had been the first and chief provokers of them. A voyage to America was little better than a piratical expedition, and the Drakes, and the Raleighs, and, in fact, many of the nobles of that time, were in reality but free-booters on the sea : yet it is to these truly gallant men that we owe the foundation of our naval superiority. The following story is told in a curious book of jests printed in the reign of James I.—“ An Earle, in times past in this kingdome, having made some prosperous voyages abroad, and returning with great prizes from the Spaniard, meeting with another yong Earle, who by his father's death was newly come both to his meanes and title ; after some noble congratulation, they fell in discourse of divers sea-fights, and ships taken from the enemy. At length, “ I wonder,” saith the soldier, “ Earle, that your Lordship being of such remarke in the court and kingdome, doth not for your greater honour undertake in your owne person some noble enterprise at sea against the common enemy the Spaniard, as I and others have done.” To whom hee gave this modest answer : “ My worthy lord ; I thank God, my father was so carefull, that hee hath husbanded so my present meanes and fortunes, that I am able to live of mine owne revenues at home, without any need to goe theefing abroad.” “ Why, my Lord,” saith hee, “ doe you hold mee to be a theefe ? ” “ Oh ! yes, with pardon, my Lord, an honourable theefe.”

a great long consequence. For God's sake I require you employe some care therin, that some might be apprehended and executed. And therof your Lordshipp shall get more prayse than you perchance thynk of, for suerly evill tongues are bold to slander your Lordshipp for your toleration thereof, wherein I dare saye they do foully report you.

The name of Fetyplace is also odious, and I feare the grace bestowed at your Lordshipp's request will not prove well bestowed.

From Wyndsor, the 3rd of March, 1563.

Your Lordshipp's humble at command,

W. CECILL.

THE BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS* TO CECIL.

It may please your Honor to be advertised, that I am much encombered with Mr. Doctor Turner, Deane of Welles, for his indiscrete behaviour in the pulpitt : where he medleth with all matters, and unsemelie speaketh of all estates, more then is standing with discretion. I have advertysed hym by writings, and have admonished secretly by his owne frends ; notwithstanding he persisteth still in his follie. He contemneth utterly all Bishopps,† and calleth them *white coates, typpett gentlemen*, with other wordes of reproach much more unsemelie, and asketh, *who gave them authoritie more over me, then I over them : either to forbidd me preaching, or to deprive me ; unlesse they have it from their holy father the Pope*. I have advertysed my Lord of Canterbury of his doings, from whom as yet I have heard no answer. If I might intreat your Honor to wryte three or foure lynes to

* Gilbert Berkley, made Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1560. He died in 1582.

† The puritans, who would have had the reformation carried much further, began now to make a great stir throughout the country. They were the more troublesome, by reason that many of them were beneficed, and had possession of the pulpit, as in the present instance of Dean Turner.

the said Deane, I know it would staie his undiscrete doyns. Your Honor should do him a good turne, and bynde me, as I acknowledge myself alreadie most bounden, to praie for your Honor's prosperitie during life.

At Taunton, this 23rd of Marche, 1563.

Your Honor's dailie orator,

GILB. BATHE AND WELLS.

N. POYNTZ TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

Right Honorable, if the greatest comforte that ever was shewed to a poore subject, might have heled my mother's broken hearte, it had been the Quene's Majesty's most loving and honorable letters, wryten unto her, and delivered the 21 day of Marche, by Santon, the messenger, with thirty pounds to buy her apotecary stuffe, wherof she had great nede, if others had not better considered of their duties, then her husband of his office. Assuredly, Sir, he is no man, but such a monster, as the like strange nature I judge to be in no beaste, but at this tyme to fill this paper with his unkinde dealings with my mother, I shuld bothe shewe my leasure to be more then indede it is, and your opinion of me to be no better than I have deserved; yet though, by some of my doings which were committed for lacke of discretion, I have, I confess, justly deserved the Quene's Majesty's hevy displeasure, and therefore to be littell credyted; it shall not be provyd that Dyar is able to cleare himselfe of nauty and uncivel behaviour upon my unfortunate mother, and withoute deserte. And though there be no lawe provyded for such fine murders, yet am I most assured there is layd up a law in the consciense of the Quene's Majesty, whiche I truste wyll appeare. Your gentill and lovyng letter also she receaved most thankfully. In what case Santon found her he wyll reporte, and wyll affirme that the hearing of those letters only gave her presently perfect syght, perfect hearing, and a plane voyce, which continued with her untill her breathe fayled; and apointed

in what order her Majesty's letters and yours should be answered, and after she had put her hande to them, and with her *own* hands kissed and delivered those letters, she presently dyed, with memory, speeche, syght, and hearing, perfect untill the last hower. Her soule, I truste, is in heaven, and the rewarde at God's hands for your gentylnes, I trust, shall be great.

From Wells, the 23rd of March.

Your most bounden,

N. POYNTZ.

LORD ROBERT DUDLEY TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

Albeit, the Quene's Majesty was very loth to have had, my Lord, your Lordshipp come thence before the country had been somewhat better stablyshed; yet consydering the daunger your Lordshipp hath been sondry tymes of late in by sicknes, and the small hope you have of any recovery in that place, she hath chiefly for that respect graunted lycense for your Lordshipp's repayre home, as you may farther perceyve by her Highnes letters presently unto you. Of other matters or newes here, this berer can sufficiently informe your Lordshipp, therefore I will leave longer to trouble you at this tyme, but commend your Lordshipp to the favor of God, who send you present health and well to do.

From Wyndsor, this 23rd day of Aprill, 1564.

Your Lordshipp's assured friend,

R. DUDDELEY.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, Mr. Somer and Malvaser came to Wyndsor the 20th of this month, and the treaty * must take place the 23rd, which

* With France.

was a very short tyme to procure knowledg to our western sea coasts, or to Ireland, but what could be done in such a case was expedited. It was proclaymed in London the 22nd, and on the 23rd a notable good sermon made at Pooles,* with *Te Deum* and all incident solemnities. The same daye it was published at Wyndsor, in the Quene's Majestie's presence going to the church, having with her Majesty the French ambassador, so as nothyng wanted to shew contentation, and yet her Majesty, inwardly to me and other her counsellors, showed much mislykyng, specially, as I guess, because the money was no more, for honor's sake.

On that daye the French Kyng was chosen of the Order,† and so was the Erle of Bedford, and Sir Henry Sydney. I thynk my Lord of Hunsdon shall bryng the order into France, and so shall have commission to require the oathe joyntly with you.

The treaties are in new wrytyng and engrossyng, to be here ratified. Wherin all the hast is made that can be, because Mr. Throgmorton's return dependeth theruppon.

The hostages wer put to liberty the 23rd, at Wyndsor, where her Majesty challenged Nantoillett for his practises in Oxford, provokyng evill subjects to be worse in Popery. But her Majesty concluded that she wold wrapp up all such with oblivion because of peace. As soon as I can possibly, I will procure the ratification to be sent thither, for I trust to have it sygned and sealed before to-morrow at night.

Malvasyr hath a chayne wayeing three score and ounces of gold: he hath bene well used here. I thank you for sendyng to me some of Mr. Haddon's books, for he thought me negligent therof, but now he is satisfied.

Here is fallen out a troublesome fond matter. John Hales‡

* St. Pauls.

† Of the garter.

‡ John Hales, clerk of the Hanaper. The title of the book was, "A Declaration of the Succession of the Crowne Imperiall of England." His object was to throw aside the Scottish line, and to support the legality of the marriage of Lady Catherine Grey, whose son, in this

had secretly made a book in the tyme of the last parlement, wherin he hath taken uppon hym to discuss no small matter, viz. the title to this crowne, after the Quene's Majesty, having confuted and rejected the lyne of the Scottish Quene, and made the lyne of the Lady Francesce, mother to the Lady Catharyne, only next and lawfull. He is committed to the Flete for this boldness, specially because he hath communicated it to sundry persons. My Lord John Grey is in trouble also for it. Beside this, John Hales hath procured sentences and counsells of lawyers from beyond seas to be wrytten in mayntenance of the Erle of Hertford's marriadg.

This dealyng of his offendeth the Quene's Majesty very much. God give her Majesty by this chance a disposition to consider hereof, that either by her mariadg, or by some common order, we poore subjects maye know where to lean and aventure our lives with contentation of our consciences.

At the wrytyng herof I am here at Westminster, attending of that myn office in the wards, and so pestred with busynes as I am forced to make this letter serve both to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton and you. 27th April, 1564.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

Young Sadler shall come thytherward as soon as the treaty can be ratified and delyvered to the ambassador.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, my fortune is of all others worse. By this peace you and other ministers take some rest, but this being come, I have no lesse business. And unfortunately is here happened a troublesome chance, occasioned by John Hales, who is

case, would be next heir to the crown. The people of England were generally in favour of this mode of settling the succession.

found to have first made and procured books in defence of the Erle of Hertford's marriage, and likewise in approbation of the title of the succession for the Lady Catharine.

In which matter he hath so delt, as both hymself and others are lyke to fynd trouble therof. He is in the Flete and lyke to go to the Tower. The Earl of Hertford is with Mr. Mason, the Lord John * is here in custody.

And in this matter I am by commandment occupyed, wherof I could be content to be delivered : but I will goo upright, neither *ad dextram* nor *ad sinistram*. And yet am I not free from suspicion, by occasion that some of these hath had access to me in their sutes.

Now, Sir, for your matters. As you required me, so did I impart to my Lord Robert, the differences that happened betwixt you and Sir Nicholas ; and I caused Mr. Somer to report his knowledg, which surely made more for you than your owne wryting. But I wish such matters swallowed up into forgetfulness.

By the Quene's Majesty's letters you shall perceave what her Majesty wold have you do. And therfore I will not more trouble you therin, but wish you some good answer, for the money due by the Prince of Condee.

I pray you, if you can, help me to a ryder, for therof have I grete nede. My wife thanketh you for your present of her sleves. The 1st of May, 1564.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, the distance of you from hence, breedeth annoyance both to you and us here, for therby happeneth a certain strangeness that neither of us heare of the other ; and therfore it happeneth not amiss, that we have no great matters to treate

* Lord John Grey.

of with you. This wherof her Majestie wryteth, is the most troublesome that hath chanced since the peace was made, wherein the French ambassador is very earnest, and yet he pretendeth, that he is therto provoked by the merchants' particular sutes and by direction from the King; and therefore he sayeth he could be content that you ther might obtayn from thé King ther some commandement to hym that he should fobearé this matter of procedyng with us, to exact by the treaty, that although we have and do forbidd both our owne merchants and those of the Low Contrey the trade of the Low Contreys, yet the French might now enter into the trade. Wherin they never did hertofore meddle, but now partly to pleasure them of the Low Contrey, partly or chiefly to procure agayne by monopoly, they wold exercise that negociation. We here do see it very necessary to return to the Low Contrey: for although it were to great purpose to divert some part of our trade from thence, and is sene possible, yet the matter was not so forseene, consideryng it fell out uppon a casualty, but that our contrey shall not be presently able to endure the holding out. One of our greatest letts is the lack of the revenue for the Quene of the custom; the second is the sudden stay at home of the people that belong to cloth-making. But herein I will not trouble you, for it hath many parts to be considered. And presently now uppon the Quene's Majestie's return to Westminster, I thynk we shall come to some conclusion with the Spanish ambassador, who began well, at our entrye into the progress,* and hath forborn untill now that he reneweth the matter agayne, and requireth a new communication.

Uppon the death of the Emperour, the Quene intendeth to send some person thither to condole and congratulate. If you shall heare the reports that begyn to be whispered in the Quene's privy chamber, and know no more, you will make sundry consequences. As they be you shall have them.

* In the course of this progress, Elizabeth had visited Cambridge.

Some saye Sir H. Sydney shall go; moo say that Sir Nicholas Throkmorton; some saye that Sir Nicholas and I shall go together; a fewe saye that Sir Nicholas Throkmorton and my Lord Robert shall go; but what shall be I thynk nobody yet knoweth; but to tell you truth, there is more ment then condolence or congratulation, it may be an intention for the mariage with the archduke.* This may be very strange, and therfore I pray you kepe this very close, for so is it necessary; and wer it not that you should be troubled with guessing many ways, I wold not have wrytten.

You may percase heare that thynges are not sound betwixt my Lord Robert and me, but surely all is well, and so I take myself assured, although either of us do understand well ynough, how busy many be to move the contrary. I must confess myself to be much beholden to his Lordship, and for my part I do endeavor myself in good earnestnes to merit well of hym. Our parlement is prorogued till Easter, wherof now I thynk is somewhat sorry.

From Syon, the 12th of September, 1564.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, this evening I came to my howse here by the Savoy, for necessary business, and being redy to go to my bed, my clerk attendyng at the court sent me this letter here included, according wherunto I do wryte to note fault in you that you have not advertised who is sent as ambassador for the French to the Emperor Maximilian. Nevertheless I meane to-morrow to show her Majestie that which I thynk reasonable to excuse you; for at your last writing when Barloo cam, which was in August, I thynk none was appoynted, and to send a messenger expressly with that matter I thynk her Majestie wold not allow it. I see by this letter that Sir Nicholas

* Part of this sentence is in cypher.

Throgmorton hath had some conference with her Majesty for the embassade to the Emperor, which at this present standeth thus. For my sicknes, and the affayres at home, am excused. Sir Nicholas will go with none but with me. And then is Sir H. Sydney to be named, who being in Wales, will spend long tyme befor he can be ready. So as the tyme being alredy so farr spent, I thynk best to stay the ambassade of condoling; and to send hereafter to congratulate the coronation. In the meane tyme the Quene's Majesty hath bene at great charges with the exequies for the Emperor, which began on Monday, and ended yesterday. The morners wer the Lord Treasurer, Erles of Sussex and Huntington, Lordes Strange, Darly, Herbert, Lumley, Hunsdon, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, myself, Mr. Sackfeld, and Mr. Throgmorton. The Bishop of London made so good and discrete a sermon, as it shall be printed in English and Latyn.

The matter which the Rhynggrave delt with you would be very seasonable if it were honorably propounded. *Sapienti pauca.*

My Lord Robert is made Erle of Leicester,* and his preferment in Scotland is earnestly intended. From my howse next Savoy. 4 Octob. 1564.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

We be yet at no end with the Flemings.

SIR THOMAS CHALONER TO THE QUEEN.

(30 November, 1564.—Abstract.)

Desirous to be recalled. The talke of the Kinge and Prince's going into Flandres uncertaine, the wisest men and so himselfe hold he will goe never. His advice touching the

* Lord Robert Dudley was created Earl of Leicester on Michaelmas Day, 1564.

trade into Flandres, that some other places then only Antwerp might be appointed for the utterance of her subject's wares, the Kinge having so at any falling out a great advantage over the English. He is of opinion that corne and beer would be a gainefull merchandise, being rented as the cloths, and yet not so dangerous; that ploughing might be maintained, and some order taken agaynst the making of pasture groundes. Complaines against piracies committed by the English; is of opinion it were better to abstaine for a while from the Indian voyages,* being but the desire and gaine of three or four men, then still to continue, and so give cause of breach of amity between us and the King of Spaine. He doubts not in time his navigation will be as open to the English as any other elles.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, the distance of that court from hence bredeth much greef both to me and yow, for therby we both fynd the lack of conference. And now the French ambassador giveth me not warning, but uppon the sudden sendyng his man for my letters if I will send any, and therefore they must be hasty, sudden, and patched letters, as almost I am compelled to do all my private thynges. I meane within a fewe dayes to return Barlow to you, whom I staye untill I may see our entercourse come to some lykehoode of good end.

I send you the articles wheruppon the Spanish ambassador and we are agreed, which he sent seven dayes past to the Duchess of Parma; and uppon return of her answer we shall know what will take place. They have already allowed the articles,

* The Spaniards and Portuguese, by old authority of the Pope, claimed the sole right of making these voyages. But both the English and French adventurers fitted out ships to trade there, and in time of profound peace at home, these two latter nations carried on in America and India a most destructive warfare against the navies of the two other powers.

saving that we here have added two poynts, the one that the intercourse should open before the treaty, the other that it should contynue after for a tyme. They will have the Diets and the intercourse open at one daye. We begyn to fynd that our commodities will be well ynough uttered, though the intercourse should not be open for the Low Countries, for we fynd the strangers ready to carry all our clothes, but therby our owne merchants should perish.

At this present I thynk my Lord of Murray and Ledyngton are upon the frontyer treatyng frendly with our wardens for border matters; but that is I thynk a cloak to deale uppon another matter, that is to commune of a marriage between the Quene of Scotts and Leicester, which I thynk will not succede.* As I wrote to you since Barlow came hyther, no marriage is more lykely to succede then if it might come from thence to be honourably motioned.

When Mr. Sadler came with your letters, he brought word that the Rhyngrove was on his waye hyther with the ordre for my Lord of Leicester; but I thynk the letters sent you for that matter, being not arryved when Sadler came from thence, hath stayed that matter.

The Queen's Majesty contynueth her displeasur towardes John Hales, for his foolish attempt in wrytyng the book so precisely agaynst the Queen of Scotland's title, who remayneth in the Tower, now in some danger by a palsaye. My Lord Keeper† also is kept from the court, and from intermedlyng with any other thyng but with the Chancery, wherof surely the affayres take grete harme, and he hymself is not voyde of perrill by heavynes of mind. My Lord John Graye died five dayes past, at Pyrgoo, of whom his frends

* Part of this sentence is in cypher. The proposition of this marriage, we know from letters of Randolph and Bedford, printed imperfectly in Keith, was debated at the meeting at Berwick.

† Sir Nicholas Bacon, who was charged with being implicated in the affair of John Hales.

report that he dyed also of thought, but his gout was sufficient to have ended his life.

My Lord of Arundell* remayneth as prisoner in his howse. His offence was that being miscontented with sondry thynges, as he sayd, of interruptions in his office, he surrendered his staff with sundry speeches of offence to the Queen's Majesty, wherof I thynk surely he was afterward sorry; but I wish he had better thought therof before.

Since his committying he hath newly offended by usyng his house too openly for resort of strangers to hym. He now useth his imprisonment circumspectly, and maketh all meanes to crave favor, but such sutes are heard slowly, because he doth not knowledg himself a fawltier. And thus I end, having no great matter of more worth that I will wryte untill Barlow shall come. I have bene also noted a favorer of my Lady Catharine's title, but my truth therin is tryed, and so I rest quiet, for surely I am and allways have bene circumspect to do nothyng to make offence. The Erle remayneth with Mr. Mason, and my Lady Catharine with Mr. Petre.

From St. James, the 26 of Novembr. 1564.

Your assured,

W. CECILL.

I thank you for my book sent by Sadler. A gentelman of Portugall hath bene here to sollicite a prohibition for our shippes not to sayle to the Mina; but he answered with good words, as others have bene.

* Henry Fitz-Allan, eighteenth Earl of Arundel. He was in high favour during the reigns of Henry the Eighth and of Mary. He was Lord High Steward in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The cause of his discontent is said to have been the disappointment of his hopes in aspiring to the hand of the Queen.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, As by my last I wrote that I wold very shortly send your servant Barloo, so now as soone as the Spanish ambassador shall have audience, which shall be on Mondaye, I will advertise you the certenty of our intercourse opened.

The Quene's Majesty fell perillously sick on Saturday last. The accident cam to that which they call diarrhœa. We feared a flux. She is somewhat weakned, but in helth, and will attend to her affayres after Saturday, which is to-morrow. Assure you she is clearly whole, but for the time she made us sore afraid. Thanked be God for both! for of both we take good, warned by her sicknes, and comforted by her recovery.

The French ambassador shall have his answer to-morrow, or on Sondag, concerning the Quene's Majesty's acceptation of the King's offer for the two roomes of his ordre. By Barlow ye shall know what. And so I end, the 15th of Decemb. 1564.

I never omytt wryting to you when I may. The berer is the Bishop of Glasguoo's * brother.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, Accordyng to my promise I do send to you Barloo your servant.

Yesterday being Sondag, the Spanish ambassador presented to her Majesty a wryting, signed with the hand of the Duchess of Parma, wherof I do send you the copy, and this

* James Beaton, who was made Bishop of Glasgow in 1551, and in 1560, terrified by the proceedings of the reformers, retired to France, where he remained in the character of ambassador of Mary and her son and successor James. He did not die till 1603.

day he shall receive the lyke from her Majesty, so as by calculation the intercourse shall be made open on New Yere's Day, and our commissioners must be redy at the sea syde about the 26th of January. I thynk my Lord of Sussex shall be chieff, Dr. Wotton the second, and Mr. Haddon the third. Great sute is made by them of Brudges¹ to have our merchants to kepe their fayres there. The Comte of Egmond hath sent and wrytten hyther for that purpose, and our merchants uppon a stomack agaynst Antwarp, are well disposed to Bruges. The haven is also now made and will serve very well. What will follow I know not. The trade to Emden shall not be forsaken, but continued, *ni forte Romani*, &c.

On Saturday the French ambassador was here with the Queen's Majesty, who delt in two principall matters, the one to know her pleasur for the offers made by the King his master to choose my Lord of Leicester and any other to be named by her Majesty to be of his order. Wherunto her Majesty did resolve to have my Lord of Leicester to be chosen; but for the second place she wold hereafter advise to the King her pleasure.

The second matter was to know her pleasure in his former sutes made, that the French King's subjects might resort with commodities from the King of Spayne's Low Contries hither. Wherin above ten dayes past he had a long debate with the counsell, and wold not be therin satisfyed, although we shewed hym what you had wrytten, and you found the King and his counsell satisfyed with your answers made. But now we had a very ready answer for hym, that was because we had not prohibited the French but for a season, duryng these differences with Flanders, we being now at an accord with them, he should see that liberty should be gyven shortly to all persons, and then the French might use their pleasure. This knowledg given hym of our accord, semed to answer hym fully, and he sayd that he was therof fully gladd.

¹ Bruges.

Now whylest I am wrytyng, I understand that meanes is made that Sir Nicholas Throkmorton might go to the French ambassador with report that uppon instance made by my Lord of Leicester her Majesty will name my Lord of Sussex for the second person, and so untyll I heare more I do forbear wrytyng therof. In Scotland there hath bene a parlement, wherin nothyng is done unto the restitution of the Erle of Lennox; as for my Ladye's clayme to Angush, by reason of the greatnes of the Erle Morton, being chancellor, nothyng is attempted. The Erle of Lennox' frends wish that the Lord of Darly might marry with the Scottish Queen, and I see some devise to bryng the Queen's Majesty not only to allow therof, but also to move it to the Queen her sister. But I see no disposition therto in her Majesty, but she rather contynueth her desyre to have my Lord of Leicester preferred that waye, for which purpose there was this last month a metying at Barwyke with my Lord of Murray and the Lord of Ledington, but yet covered with some other matters. And now of late it is from thence renewed, to know with what conditions the Queen's Majesty will prefer hym, wherin at this present no full answer is yet gyven; but to saye the truth of my knowledg in these fyckle matters, I can affirm nothyng that I can assure to contynue.

I see the Queen's Majesty very desyrous to have my Lord of Leicester placed in this high degree to be the Scottish Queen's husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded, I see her then remiss of her earnestnes.*

This also I see in the Queen's Majesty, a sufficient con-

* By the letters which I have examined, I cannot but think that in this negotiation about the Earl of Leicester, the Scottish Queen acted with great duplicity, and that, although she let the negotiation run on for a long time, she was resolved from the first not to have him. Her conduct seems to have been intended as a cover for her proceedings with respect to Darnley, who was obnoxious to almost every body.

tentation to be moved to marry abroad, and if it so may please Almighty God, to leade by the hand some mete person to come and lay hand on her to her contentation, I could then wish myself more helth to endure my yeres somewhat longer to enjoye such a world here, as I trust will follow, otherwise I assure you, as now thynges hang in desperation, I have no comfort to lyve. I thought to have heard somewhat from you, uppon the watchword you gave me in your letter, that I should heare more by another waye. To-morrow the proclamation shall be made for the opening of the intercourse, but I feare this frost will so shut it upp, as no shipp shall pass or repass.

This daye* the proclamation is made. The Queen's Majesty is now fully recovered of her cold, and cometh abrode, and will sign the letters long ago made to you, and the letter to the French King, which hath bene also altered, but as it is now I send the copy of it to you.

To-morrow the Spanish ambassador meaneth to feast us here, who hath bene long in begynning so to do, having example sufficient by the French ambassador, who hath very often of late invited my Lord of Leicester, and such as have accompanied hym. It is strange to see what great amity is now betwixt the French ambassador and Mr. Throkmorton, considering the hate that Mr. Throkmorton hath born hym.

Th'ambassador looketh to be revoqued in March next, and to be afterward sent into Spayne.

My Lord of Bedford wryteth that he is moved indirectly to recompence the Erle of Murray with goyng to Edenburgh, and so I thinke he shall be licensed. Such toyes may breed jealousies hereafter.

The Queen's displeasure contynueth still towards my Lord of Hertford and the Lady Catharyne, and my Lord Keper

* The letter was written at twice—what precedes this sentence on the 29th of December.

remayneth yet as he did, absent from court. My Lord of Arundell is now at liberty to go and to be visited by whom he will, but yet he cannot come to her Majesty's presence, although he is in some hope so to do shortly. John Hales remayneth still in prison.

Sir Thomas Challoner's servant is newly come hyther, with no matter of moment, but to procure his coming home, which was accorded twelve months past. But the same hath bene prolonged hytherto uppon the differences rysen from the staye of intercourse, and now those being come to some calm, he shall be called home, and leave a secretary behind hym untill one may be procured to go thither, which we fynd hard to do, pryncipally for the difference of religion, or els Mr. H. Knolles should go; but I thynk we shall send Mr. John Hastyns, or some such lyke, if we cannot fynd out a person of better estate.*

If we might, we could be content to have our ambassador resident in the Low Contries, and none in Spayn, for there nothyng is negociated at all.

Mr. Challoner wryteth strangely of the rynging of a bell in Mellila in Aragon, without knowledg by whom, but of itself: I dowt not but you here of it by Monsieur de Meru.

The rest of thynges that I do not wryte I will communicate to your servant, and so take my leave for this yere, meaning to do my uttermost in the entry of this next yere, to procure your return, as reason is. The 30th of December, 1564.

Yours assured for ever,

W. CECILL.

* Sir Thomas Chaloner did not live many months after his recal. He died on the 15th of October, 1565. Sir Thomas was one of Cecil's oldest and most esteemed friends, and was distinguished equally as a soldier, a statesman, and a scholar. "He obtained his recal by an elegy to Elizabeth, after the manner of Ovid, and towards the end of 1564, published the first five books of his 'Right Ordering of the English Republic;' a work which he had written to occupy and amuse the dull hours of his Spanish ministry, and which he dedicated to his old and good friend Sir William Cecil."—*Nares*.

RANDOLPH TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.*

I have the longer forborne to write unto your Lordship, for feare least that my last letters deserved soe little thankes, that your Lordship careth not how few come into your handes. Whatsoever is contayned in my writings, my mynde was never to offend, and if I knew which way to sort to your Lordship's contentment, with the desire I have that this suite I have here tooke effect, your Lordship should ever be voyd of suspicion of my good will. That matter which I have in hand, I am assured, if it take effect, shall turne your Lordship to the greatest honor that you can be called unto, except you marrye with the Quene's Majesty. What proffit and comodity shall ensue unto your country, the wisest and best experimented have already given theyr judgment, that there can be no greater. The Quene's Majesty's contentment herein I am sure will be such, as this being ended her great care is past. Because your Lordship therefore shall not be ignorant to what pass matters are come unto here, that your Lordship

* It is evident that the Queen of Scots made the English and the Protestants generally believe that she was willing to marry Leicester, while she was preparing to marry Darnley. The following notes are from Burghley's Journal.

"Nov. 7, (1564.) Randolph perswadeth a gret lykehood of good-will in the Queen of Scotts to my Lord Robert.

Dec. 2. The Queen of Scotts offereth to be wholly directed in mariadg by the Erl Murray and Lord Ledyngton.

Dec. 14. A report made by the Erl of Lenox, that he hoped his sone shuld marry the Queen.

Feb. 5. Mr. Randolph wryteth at length of the Queen of Scotts allowance of my Lord of Leicester; and gyveth gret apparance of success in the mariadg.

Feb. 16. Lord Darley cam to the Queen.

March 15. The Lord Darley is favored of the Queen.

April 15. Playnly discovered that the Queen will have the Lord Darley.

July 29 Lord Darley marryed to the Queen.'

may the sooner, in debating with yourselfe, resolve upon that that is found for you to be best; it may please your Lordshipp to understand, that this Quene is now content to give good eare unto the Quene's Majesty's suite in your behalfe. By reports, she hath heard soe much good of your Lordship, that she judgeth you worthy of any place of honor, yea, to be husband to any Quene: she wisheth you also a kingdome of your owne, the sooner to come by that which others thinke you worthy of. Wherefore, towardes yourselfe she beareth that good mynde as, in honor and place she occupyeth, she may do to any, yea to that which the Quene's Majesty desireth, if those other thinges may ensue, that are in private conference between them. Whereof you thought that no such staye will be, as eyther may hinder this purpose, or be an occasion that the good-will that is between them, may growe unto a coldnes, or greater inconvenience ensue, then I can afford in my hart to speake of. Her mynde and determination herein is committed unto the two Lords who are so affected unto this cause, as no men more. Declaration is made of theyr mynde, and sufficient testimony of theyr own good wills. If in soe good a cause, soe much to the Quene's Majesty's contentation, soe profitable to your country, so comfortable to your freinds, and honorable to your Lordship's selfe, there be found a staye in you, as all men hitherto have judged your Lordship worthy to marrye the greatest Quene, soe will this alter theyr opinions of you, worse then I can speake, or would be gladd to thinke. But what should I be soe mad as to believe that that could be your thought. I thinke with myselfe that I doe your Lordship over great injurye thus to charge you, and therfore of this matter I will write no more, but take it as resolved, and travell the best I can to bringe it to effect, wherein God send me such prosperous success, as in this and other I desire, that may be to your Lordship's honor.

The selfe same occasions that were layd agaynst your Lordship, of which I wrote, and of which I ground the

cause of your Lordship's mislikinge of me, I am againe charged with, or rather your Lordship burdened to your great negligence to woo a Quene, without labour or travell, cost, charge, message, token, no not soe much as once signification of your owne good will. It is enough for me allwayes to say that it is no small honor for this Quene to have such a princess as my soveraigne to be a suitor; your Lordship is right happy if so easily you may come by her. I would that I might, with much more labour and earnestest travell then ever your Lordship tooke in this matter, marrye but some good old widdowe that had wherewith to keepe me towarde my old dayes. I must now crave pardone, and am sorry to have waded so farre; my mynde is not to offend, but in all dutyfull service duly to serve your Lordship during my life. I might here well leave further to write unto your Lordship, with more thankes peradventure then to take further paines, but this I cannot leave out, which I must (savinge that which was done for my soveraigne's sake) cheifly attribute unto your Lordship. Greater entertaynment, or greater honor could notbe done to the greatest embassadour that the Quene's Majesty could have sent unto this Quene, then was done to me at St. Andrews. For four dayes together I dyned and supped daily at her grace's table, I set next unto herself saving worthy Beton our mistres. I had longer talke and conference with her, then any other during the tyme. Enough, I assure your Lordship, if I were able to reporte all, can make all the ill-will ere to both these Quene's felicityes to burst asunder for envye. Of your Lordship we have not spared to speake also, but nothing of that which of any other things I desire least should come unto her knowledge, wherein I have said so much that if half were but true, your Lordship I am sure is halfe consumed in love for her sake.

With most humble remembrance of my duty, and recommendation of such service as lyes in my power, I take my leave. At Edinburgh, the 6th of Febr. 1564.

Your honble. Lordship's bounden and ready to command,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

RANDOLPH TO CECIL.

Whatsoever I wryte unto my Lord of Leicester, I dowte not but your Honor is privie therunto, and therefore to wryte the same agayne shulde be double paine. Of thys Quene's answer, and howe the matter was taken, that I broke last in with her Grace, touching the Quene's Majesty's resolution, I have wrytten to his Lordship, and because there are dyvers other thyngs here, which I desyre sholde come to your Honor's knowledge, which put me in greate dowte that other troubles shall ryse amongst themselves or some unkyndnes growe betwene the Quene's Majesty and her well-willers here, I thoughte good to put that in a letter unto yourselfe, to be consydered of as you finde juste cause. I heare daylie so manie and grevous complayntes of the state and governmente of this countrie, that either there is greate lacke of wisdom in those that have the chiefe charge to directe all thyngs as theie ought to be, or great faulte in the subjects that throughe their disobedience no good order, be it never so well devysed, can be observed. What troubles have rysen in this countrie for religion, your Honor knoweth. All thyngs now is growne into such a libertie, and her Grace taken unto herself such a wyll to do therein what she lyst, that of late, contrarie to her owne ordonnances, as great numbers have repayred to her chappel to hear masse, as sometymes come to the common churches to the sermonde. To have her mynde altered for thys fredom that she desyreth to have all men lyve as theie lyke, she can hardlye be brought, and thinketh it too great a subjection for her, being a prince in her owne countrie, to have her wyll broken therein. The subjects who desyre to lyve in the trewe feare and worshipping of God, offer rather their lyves agayne to be sacrificed, then that theie wolde suffer suche abomination, yea, almoste permyt herself to enjoie her masse, which is now more playnely and openlye spoken agaynste by the preach-

ers, then ever was the Pope of Rome. This kindleth in her a desyre to revenge, and bredeth in other a libertie to speake, and a wyll to attempte to amende that by force, whiche by no other meanes theie can gette reformed. What this may growe unto, excepte some spedie helpe be put unto it, I leave your Honor to thinke; for myselfe I wolde I were farre inoughe from the sight of it. Two notable blasphemies lately againste God, yet not worthylie punished, though somewhat done, with difficultie inoughe, to have the doers committed to prison. A schoole-maister in Hedington made a playe to exercise his schollers agaynste the ministers, and baptized a catte in the name of the Father, the Sonne, &c. One of the Quene's Chappell, a singing man, sayde that he believed as well a tale of Robbin Hood as any worde that was wrytten in the Olde Testament or the Newe.

Her owne masse, and the resorte unto it, such blasphemies as these unpunished, her wyll to contynue Papisterie, her desyre to have all men lyve as theie lyste, so offendeth the godlye men's consciences, and so manie besydes as desyre alteration, that it is continuall feare that these matters wyll shortly breake owte to some greate mischief. By the waye, I wyll tell your Honor a merrie tale, but verie trewe, which commonlie tales are not. There is one that attendeth upon this courte, called Moffet, who commonlie once in three yeares entereth into a phrenesie. Within these twenty dayes his passion taketh hym with suche an imagination that he is the Quene's housbonde. A great Protestante he is, and verie godlie, when he is in his witts. He came one daye into the Quene's chappell, and findyng the prieste at masse, drewe oute his sword, drave the prieste from the aulter into the vestrie, broke the challice, overthrew and pulled in pieces all the robes and reliques, crosse, candlesticks, and all that was there cutte and broken. The masse sayer was the Doctor of Sorbone, and at the hearing of it was the Quene's physition, and, as he sayth himself, never in greater feare of his lyf, and hyd hymself behinde the tapes-

trie untyll the execution of this masse-god was paste. Thys doth as muche anger the Quene, as it dothe please manie other, to have her sacred place thus disturbed.

These ofte debates, these common controversies betwene her and her nobles, muste needs breede great myslyking, and so often renewed, yea, almost daylie, to her greate greefe to heare of them, must needs growe to a mischief, and as theie saye, *erumpere in nervum*. Above all the reste, this is it that is feared that will be the breache of all good accord and quietnes of thys estate, thoughe the reste be borne with; that is, if she matche herself with a Papiste, by whom she may be fortyfied to her intent. Of thys poynte ther is no small care taken, and muche dowte rysen, what shall become of all those that in tymes paste have so farre attempted, as to establishe here churches, and withoute her consente.

Sometimes theie take advyse to be sutors and meanes unto the Quene's Majesty, that she wil be so carefull of thys estate and of these that with all reverence and humble sorte are readie to serve her and obey her nexte unto their own soveraigne, that she will so worke and travaile, yea, and so provide for her in mariage, that theie may be voide of that care which nowe theie do dowte, which theie do thynk can be no wayes so well as if those matters that so longe have been in consultation tooke effecte; as to matche her with my Lord of Leicester, beinge hymselfe a Protestante, sholde easilie inoughe bringe her to be of the same religion, or at the leaste cawse her to deale more moderately in those matters than yet she dothe. If this take not effecte, wherunto she is now meetely well inclined, assuredly whomsoever she dothe marrye, it shal be greatlye to their discontentment, besydes other things that are to be dowed of the inconveniences that maye aryse between the two realmes; as if she either allie herselfe agayne with France, or matche with Spayne, wherof what likelyhood there is, or how she is able to bring it to passe, your Honor may knowe muche more than I. But to what ende this jorneye of my Lord of Lidington is to the

cardinall, and what devises are betwene Grandville and hym, I knowe no farther then that which I wrote in my last letter. One thyng I muste also saye, that all men here that either love their commonwelthe, or knowe what a benefyt it is to lyve in peace, thynk this countrie happie if theie maye gette (as theie call still here) my Lord Roberte.

I have over longe helde your Honor in one purpose, having so manye other matters to wryte of, which I will laye before your Honor as playnely and trewely as I can, and leave the judgement to yourself, for farther is not my parte to wade. I have been alwayes of opinion that my Lord of Lenox coming into this countrie mighte do more hurte than good, wherein I never had so muche respecte unto hymself, or anye other man here, as I did what these men sholde judge of my soveraigne, or whether it might be an occasion of altering of divers men's affections towards her Majesty, who was, and yet is, accounted a protector and defender of the godlye of thys realme, in whom they had alwaies suche truste and hope, that as she hathe delivered them owte of their enemye's handes, so wolde she have a contynuall care over them, and to keepe off from them suche inconveniences as maye fall upon them. My Lord of Lenox is come home, restored and established in his lande, in place and credit with the Quene, an instrumente and readie to serve her againste anye, especiall those whom she most myslyketh. To thys ende he fortifieth hymselfe, he joyneth with those in moste straite familiaritie that are noted greateste enemies to all vertu, as Atholl, and Catnes,* Earles, Ruthen and Hume, Lords; the Lord Robert † vayne and nothings worthe, a man full of all evill, the whole guider and ruler of my Lord Darley.

* George Sinclair, fourth Earl of Caithness.

† The 'Lord Robert' so often mentioned in these letters on Scottish affairs, was Robert Stuart, Bishop of Caithness in 1540, created Earl of March in 1580. He was the brother of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, and the uncle of Darnley.

These thinges being spied and noted to the worlde, it is easie to be seen wherunto theie are bente that in their hearts are enemies to the truthe, and desyre no thinge so much as the subversion of those that have been mayntainers of the same, as in speciall the Duke, the Earles of Murraye and Argile, who nowe perceaving their intents, seeke by the beste meanes that theie can to prevent the same.

Their cheife truste, nexte unto God, is the Quene's Majestie, whom theie wyll repose themselves upon, not leaving in the meane season to provide for themselves the beste they can. The Duke, my Lord of Murraye, and my Lord of Argile, have joined themselves within these eight days in a newe bonde, to defende each other's quarrel, that is not agaynste God and their soverayne. My Lord of Argile hath taken into his defence, in all his juste actions, the Earle of Montgomerie, alias Eglintoun,* and intendeth to make a marriage betwene the Earle of Cassels and the Duke's daughter, or yf that cannot be, betwene hym and the Countess of Crayeforde, his nere kynswoman, and the greateste marriage in Scotlande. To bothe these Erles my Lord of Lenox hath actions, who beinge nowe thus joyned in frendshipe, shall be able inoughe to defend themselves, or yf he intende anythinge by way of deede, shall be able inoughe to debate their quarrels. Alwayes theie are loath to come to thys, and are sorrie that anye suche geste is sufferd to come amongst them that maye gyve occasion to enter into suche termes as nowe theie are forced into.

It is nowe founde by the wyseste amongst them, howe greate an oversyght it was for them to gyve their advyses to lette hym come home, and because it was muche easier to have bene stayed by the Quene's Majestie than to be withstoode here when this Quene's affection towards his returne was knowne, theie are sorrie that her Majestie dyd so muche yelde unto her wyll to lette hym come, who maye and is lyke inoughe to be occasion of so great troubles. Of my Lord

* Hugh Montgomery, Earl of Eglinton.

Darlie theie have this opinion, that in wysdome he dothe not muche differ from his father. The honor, countenance, and entertaynement that he hathe here, maketh hym thynke no lyttle of hymself. Some perswade hym that there is no lesse good will borne unto hym by many of this nation, then that theye think hym a fitte partie for suche a Quene. Howe easylye a yonge man so borne in hande, daylie in pre-sense well used, contynuallie in companie either of the beste or nexte aboute her, maye be induced either by hymself to attempte, or by persuasions of other to imagine, I leave it to the judgement of other.

Of thys Quene's mynde hytherto towards hym, I am voide of suspicion, but what affections may be stirred up in her, or whether she will be at anye tyme moved that waye, seeing she is a woman, and in all thynges desyreth to have her wyll, I cannot saye.

This is also needefull for your Honor to understande, that this Quene hathe conceived displeasure towards my Lord of Argile. Her hatred is still mortal towards the Duke,* which lately burste owte in over manie words, and in too manie men's hearing. He thynketh hymself in evil case. I fynde him more pytied and better beloved then ever he was. He keepeth contynuallie at home. Fewe of hys name repayre to the courte. Theie seeke all quietlie to live, and throughe innocencie or not offence of lawe to avoide all dangers that are intended, or what mischiefes soever shal be practised againste them, wherof theie do moste assure themselves if this Queene do marrie anye other then my Lord of Leicester, but specially if she take my Lord Darlie. This putteth no smale feare also amonge the Duglasses, for what cause your Honor knoweth. With dyvers of them of late I have had some talke. I maintayne them in good hope, the beste I can, that there is no danger that waie. From the Duke I have receaved this message, that he cannot be without feare

* Of Châtelherault.

of the overthrow of hys house, if the Lord Darlie marrye the Quene. As he hathe hytherto shewed hymself frende and servant to her Majestie, so he hopeth not a lyttle but he shall alwayes have occasion to serve and honor her during his lyfe, and make his whole house bounde unto her for ever. He did put me in remembrance of a letter wrytten unto hym by the Quene's Majestie a lyttle before his sovereign's home coming, assuring hym of her Majesty's favour and support, if any thinge shuld be unjustlie attempted agaynste hym, he doing his dutie to his soveraigne. He wyll, therefore, repose hymselfe whollie in the Quene's Majestie, and desyreth her Highnes to have suche care over hym as one willing to serve her, and maye hereafter be able to be a frende at commandement. Of thys message was my Lord of Kylwynnie messenger, and the same agayne confirmed by my Lord of Argile, who for his owne parte offereth all service that lyeth in his power, and of whom I have receaved th'effecte of that whiche I have wrytten in my whole letter.

These thynges I dowte not shal be weighed and consydered of your Honor. To helpe all these unhappie men I dowte not but you wyll take the beste way, and this I can assure, that contrarie to my soveraign's will let them attempte, let them seeke, and lette them sende to all the cardinalls or divells in hell, it shall pass their powers to bringe any thinge to passe, so that that be not refused here that in reason oughte to content her. How longe the kingdoms will stande betwene my Lord of Murraye and Lord of Lenox, your Honor maye judge by thys, that my Lord of Lenox hath joyned hymself with those whome my Lord of Murraye thinketh worste of in Scotlande. What opinion the yonge Lord hath conceaved of hym, that latelye talking with the Lord Roberte, who shewed hym in the Scotche mappe what lands my Lord of Murraye had, and in what bounds, the Lord Darlie saide that it was too muche. Thys came to my Lord of Murraye's eare, and so to the Quene, who advised my Lord of Darlie to excuse hymself to my Lord of Murraye. The truthe,

these be no matters to make or to take quarrels for, yet these suspicions, dowtes, and heart burnings betwene these noble-men maye breake owte to great inconveniences, and for my owne particular wolde not greatlye care (thoughe thys be unadvisedly spoken, for I know there is of manie of those muche good wyll borne unto me) which ende wente forward, so that the Quene's Majestie maye ever be thoughte of and reputed to be a patron and a friende to thys nation, as presently she is.

To the contrarye of muche of thys which here I have wrytten, I knowe there are some that thynk other wayes, and judge me to be deceived. Theie build more upon their owne assurance, either to be able with their tonge to persuade what theie thynke, or truste over muche to the place of credit which theie occupie. Other that sholde knowe thus muche as I have wrytten, wolde thynke I might well have forborne whatsoever I thynke or knowe to put it in wryting. Seeing my ende tendeth to their repose and weale, it cannot be thought but that I do deale with them as a frende, to take care for them in tyme. Or if nothyng of thys lyke them, I do but my dutie, where I am bounde, to let nothyng of my knowledge be hydde where either my countrie maye be hurte, or her Majesty unsatisfied or unadvertised in time of anye inconvenience that maye chance, which being foreseen is the easier to be provided for.

These thinges being put into my heade by some of the wysest sorte, and in my judgement worthye to be considered, I have here reported them as nere as I can to the trewth, to be thought of and weighed as you thynke them worthye.

I desyre nothyng more myself then that which may be to the Quene's Majestie's contentement. I leave further for thys presente to trouble your Honor, being right sorrie that these occasions have leade so farre as thus longe to have helde you. Moste humbly I take my leave. At Edenboure, the 20th of Marche, 1564.

Your Honor's bounden ever at commande,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, I thynk the two Quenes have satisfyed either themselves with their enterviews, or rather filled the desyres of their traynes.* There are sundry expectations of the French herof, and as most commonly used in Prynces' cases, no small thyngs projected. I dowl not but though you shall be farr off, you will use a long anglyng wand† to catch some knowledg, and lykewyse I thynk you heare of some expectation what shall follow of the rumor of the mariadg betwixt the Quene of Scotts and the Lord of Darlye. The Lord of Lyddyngton cam hyther to obtayne the Quene's Majestie's consent, but he found great offence. Sir Nicholas Throk-morton was sent to declare the discontentment of her Majesty, and meanes how to break it; he returned on Frydaye well rewarded, but he could not dissolve it, although he sayth it is mislyked of all the substance of the realme, and she herself confesseth that if it was to be done she wold be otherwise advised; but she is determyned, and prayeth her Majesty here to comport with her, untill she will send one of hers hyther (which shall be Mr. Hayes) to declare to the Quene's Majesty some reasons on her behalf.

I thynk my Lady Lennox‡ shall be committed to some further custody, and my Lorde her husband and son, shall forfait that they may here with us. And because it is lykely their foundation in England is upon papists, the protestants

* This of course is Strype's authority for saying the two Queens had an interview, which mistake Nares was "unable to trace to its root." Cecil seems however to mean on the contrary that they had had enough of such projects, and were inclined to give it up without saying any more about it.—See *Nares' Burghley*, ii. 362.

† A fishing rod.

‡ On the rumour of the intended marriage, the English council summoned Lenox and his son Darnley, as English subjects, to return to England, on pain of outlawry and forfeiture. On their refusal to obey, the Countess of Lenox, who was in England, was arrested, and remained in custody for some time.

here shall receave more comfort, and the papistes more disgrace.

The Emperor's ambassador is not idle in his matter, but presseth the match for the Archduke discretely and diligently; one great obstacle is that the Quene's Majestie will nedes see before she marry. And how that devise can be performed, if she should assent either to the French king, or to the Archduke, will prove hard. Her Majestie remembreth her promise to remaine free until she have well answered the French king, and so her Majestie considereth mete for her honor to do, which causeth the Emperor's ambassador to lack resolution, and yet he fyndeth as I heare so generall a lykyng amongst the great Lordes here, that he is in great hope to speede. What shall follow, God knoweth.

The Lord of Leicester* furthereth the Quene's Majestie with all good reasons to take one of these great Prynces. Wherin suerly, perceaving his owne cause not sperable,† he doth honorably and wisely. I see four noble men devoted to France, but I being *mancipium Reginæ*, and lackyng witt for to expect so great a matter, will follow with service where her Majestie will go before. Sir H. Sydney will be Lord Deputy in Ireland. Shan O'Neyle‡ hath overthrown James Maconeale, and takyn hym and his brother; wherein a number of English soldiers being with Shan did only gayne the victory. If now the Quene's Majestie may have the possession of these prisoners, it shall be proffitable, otherwyse Shane's victory will be dangerous for Ireland.

Our Commissioners at Brudges are lyke to agree uppon all thyngs, saving the matter of pondage, and the new subsidy

* This, and some other passages of Cecil's letters, seems to discountenance the assertion so often made, that Leicester was opposed, from interested motives, to all the Queen's projects of marriage. It must be remembered, that Cecil was not a friend of Leicester, and that he wrote to Smith in perfect confidence.

† Hopeful.

‡ Shane was now engaged on the side of the Queen, against the Scottish islanders.

for clothes. For the pondage, the Duchess of Parma will send hither persons to see our records here in the chequer. For the subsidy, we cannot yeld, and if we shall, it will be with some moderation only for strangers, whose custom is 14s. 6*d*. uppon a cloth, which before was but 3s. 2*d*. Nevertheless, this my opinion is very secret.

They complayne of an infinite number of pyrats, and though the treaty provide cautions, yet the demands are so great, as we must needs remitt the complaynts to justice to be done upon the persons.

And thus you see I have scribled many things in hast to satisfy your expectation, assuryng you my letter is so lyttle, as I thynk this is to be the twentieth letter already wrytten this daye. On Sonday, 3 Junii, 1565.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

Great meanes is made for Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to be of the privie counsell, and so I wish you both.

RANDOLPH TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

May it please your Lordshipp, I have receaved your Lordshipp's letter by my servante, sufficient testimonie of your favour towards me, where I thynke myselfe always so as that what other myshapp soever befalle me, I have inoughe to comforte myself with.

Though I have not at thys tyme receaved neither according to the mode I fonde in, nor the necessitie of the service that I am employed, I will rather passe it as I maye with patience, than trouble your Lordshippe to be suter for me where there is so little hope that anye good wil be done for me.

I dowte not but your Lordship hath heard by suche information as I have given from hence, what the present state of thys countrie is, howe this Quene is now become a married

wife, and her husband, the self same daye of his marriage, made a kinge. In their desyres hytherto they have founde so muche to their contents, that if the rest succede and prosper accordinglie, theie maye thinke themselves much happier than there is appearance that theie shal be. So manie discontented mynds, so muche myslyking of the subjectes to have these matters thus ordered in this sorte to be brought to pass, I never hearde of anye marriage. So little comforte as men do take, was never seen at any tyme where men sholde have shewed themselves to rejoyce, if that consyderation of her own honor and of her countrie had bene had as appertayned in so weightie a case. Thus theie feare the overthrow of religion, the breache of amity with the Quene's Majestie, destruction of as manie of the nobilitie as she hath myslyking of, or that he to pick a quarrell unto.

To see all these inconveniencies approaching there are good number that maye soner lamente with themselves and complayne to their neighbours, than able to fynde remedye to helpe them. Some attempte with all force theie have, but are too weake to do anye good. What is required other wayes, what meanes ther is made, your Lordshipp knoweth, what will be answerde, or what will be therin, we are in great dowte, and tho your intente be never so good unto us, yet we so muche feare your delaye, that our ruin shall prevent your support. When counsell is once taken, nothyng so nedefull as spedie execution, upon this we wholly depende. In her Majestie's hands it standeth to save our lives or to suffer us to perishe.

Greater honor her Majestie cannot have then in that which lyeth in her power to do for us. The somes are not greate, the numbers of men are not manie that we desyre; monie wyll daylye be founde though thys wil be some charge, men growe daylie, though at thys tyme I thynk her Majestie shall lese but fewe. Her friends here being once taken away, where wyll her Majestie fynde the lyke? I speake leaste of that which I thynke is most earnestlye intended by this Quene

and her housbande, when by hym it was lately sayde that he cared more for the Papistes in Englande then he did for the Protestants in Scotlande. If therefore his hope be so greate in the Papistes of Englande, what maye your Lordshipp beleve what he thynketh of the Protestants there: for his byrth, for his nurriture, for th'honor he hathe to be of kin to the Quene, my mestres, if in preferring those that are the Quene's Majesty's worste subjects, to those that are her beste, he declareth what mynde he beareth to the Quene's Majesty's self, anye man maye saye that it is slenderly awarded, and his duetie evel forgotten. He wolde nowe seeme to be indifferente to bothe the religions, she to use her masse, and he to come sometymes to the preachyng.

Theie wer married with all the solemnities of the popyshe tyme, saving that he hearde not the masse; his speeche and talke argueth his mynde, and yet wolde he fayne seem to the worlde that he were of some religion. His words to all men agaynst whom he conceaveth any displeasure, howe unjuste soever yt be, so prowde and spitefull, that rather he seemeth a monarche of the worlde than he that not longe since we have seene and knowne the Lord Darlye. He looketh nowe for revenue of manie that have lyttle will to gyve yt hym, and some there are that do gyve it that thynke hym lyttle worthye of it.

All honor that maye be attributed unto any man by a wyfe, he hathe yt wholly and fully, all prayse that maye be spoken of hym he lacketh not from herselfe, all dignities that she can indue hym with are alreadie given and granted. No man pleaseth her that contenteth not hym, and what maye I saye more, she hathe given over unto hym her whole wyll, to be ruled and guyled as hymself beste lyketh. She can as muche prevayle with hym in anye thyng that is agaynst his wyll, as your Lordship maye with me to perswade that I sholde hange myself. This laste dignitie owte of hande to have hym proclamed Kinge, she wolde have had it differed untill it were agreed by Parlemeute, or

had bene hymself of twenty-one yeres of age, that thyngs done in hys name myght have the better autoritye. He wold in no case have it differed one daye, and either then or never. Wherupon thys dowte is rysen amongst our men of lawe, whether she beinge clade with a housbande, and her housbande not twenty-one yeres, anythyng withowte Parlemente can be of strengthe that is done betwene them. Upon Saturdaye at afternone these matters were longe in debating, and before theie were well resolved upon, at nine howers at night, by three herauldes at sounde of the trumpet, he was proclaimed Kinge. Thys was the night before the marriage. This daye, Mondaye, at twelve of the clocke, the Lords, all that were in thys towne, were presente at the proclaiming of hym agayne, when no man sayd so muche as Amen, savinge his father, that cried owte aloude, "God save his Grace!"

The manner of the marriage was in thys sorte. Upon Sundaye, in the morninge, betwene five and six, she was conveide by divers of her nobles to the chappell. She had upon her backe the greate mourninge gowne of blacke, with the greate wyde mourninge hooде, not unlyke unto that which she wore the dolefull day of the buriall of her housbande. She was ledde unto the chappell by the Earles Lenox and Athol, and there she was lefte untill her housband came, who also was conveide by the same lords. The ministers, two priests, did there receave them. The bans are asked the thyrde tyme, and an instrumente taken by a notarie that no man sayde agaynst them, or alledged anye cause why the marriage might not procede. The words were spoken, the rings, which were three, the middle a riche diamonde, were put upon her finger, theie kneel together, and manie prayers saide over them. She carrieth owte the and he taketh a kysse and leaveth her there and wente to her chamber, whither in a space she followeth, and there being required, accordinge to the solemnitie to cast off her care, and lay asyde those sorrowfull garments, and give herself to a

pleasanter lyfe. After some prettie refusall, more I believe for manner sake then greef of harte, she suffreth them that stode by, everie man that coulede approche to take owte a pyn, and so being commytted unto her ladies changed her garments, but wente not to bedde, to signifie unto the worlde that it was no luste moved them to marrie, but onely the necessitie of her countrie, not if she wyll to leave it destitute of an heire. Suspicious men, or such as are given of all thyngs to make the worste, wolde that it sholde be beleved that theie knewe eache other before that theie came there. I wolde not your Lordship shold so believe, the lykelyhoods are so greate to the contrarie, that if it were possible to se such an act done, I wolde not beleve it. After the marriage followeth commonly cheere and dancinge. To their dynner theie were conveide by the whole nobles. The trompets sounde, a larges cried, and monie thrown abowte the howse in greate abundance to suche as were happie to gete anye parte. Theie dyne bothe at one table upon the upper hande. There serve her these Earles—Athall, shower, Morton, carver, Crayforde, cupbearer. These serve hym in lyke offices—Earles Eglinton, Cassells, and Glencarne. After dynner theie dance awhyle, and retire themselves tyll the hower of supper, and as theie dyne so do theie suppe. Some dancing ther was, and so theie go to bedd.

Of all thys that I have wrytten to your Lordship, I am not *oculatus testis*, but of the veritie your Lordship shall not neede to dowte, howsoever I came by it.

I was sent for to have bene at the supper, but lyke a curish or uncourtoyse carle, I refused to be there, and yet that which your Lordship maye thynke mighte move me muche to have had the syghte of my mestres, of whom those eighteen dayes by juste accompte I gotte not a syght. I am, my Lord, taken by all that sorte a verie *..... which in my harte do well allowe, and lyke of myselfe the better, for yet can I not fynde either honeste or good that lyketh their doings.

* A word or two illegible.

I leave at thys tyme farther to trouble your Lordship, craving pardon for my long silence. I have more ado than I am able to discharge. I walke more nowe abroad by nighte then by daye, and the daye too lyttle to discharge myself of that which I conceive or receive in the nighte. As your Lordship I am sure is partaker of suche letters as I wryte unto Mr. Secretarie, so I truste that he shal be to this, to save me of a lyttle labor to wryte the same agayne. Most humblye I take my leave.

At Edenbourge, the laste of Julye, 1565.

Your Lordship's alwayes bounde ever to commande.

Two thyngs I had almoste forgotten, th'one was, to honor the feaste the Lord Earsken * was made Earle of Marre, and manie made knightes that never shewed any greate token of their vasellage. Th'other is that the Lord St. John had his office of Chief Chamberlayne taken from hym, and it was given to the Lord Flemenge, nowe in principall credit with our newe Kynge.

THE EARL OF BEDFORD TO CECIL.

(Extract, 18 Aug., 1565.)

* * * * *

The newe King's souldiers and the townsmen of Edinbrough have bene together by the eares, and some of the townsmen slayne. Their king was putting on his armour, to have parted the fraye, but did not, or if he did, came not abroad.

He loseth many of his frendes dayly, who, seeing his government, leane to th'other parte.

The Quene getteth as many to her masse, and never was there so many as now there were at it on Sonday last.

* John, fifth Lord Erskine. He was elected regent in 1571, and died the following year.

The have done great thyngs of late, as the burning of a towne called Hawycke, and therefore are to be considered. Preparation is made to ryde upon them by that realme, and had they not so styrrred as they did on their own neighbours and countreyemen, our marches had long before this tyme smarted therefor. And if they be ridden upon and be not holpen, they cannot hold out, but must nedes give over, and shall have their pardons, as it is thought, for this tyme offred them. And if the Erle Bothewell come, who is their Lorde, then will they go with him, if there be none other waye taken before, which I referre to your wisdom. And to saye to you mine opinion, things might be wrought on their partie and behalfe, and that in suche sorte, if the Quene's Majestie so wold, as bothe might directe the force meant agaynst them some other waye, and no damage ensue to th'erle of Murray by such as wold strive agaynst hym. How and in what sorte I shall declare to you hereafter. He that was schole-master to the Lord Darley, whether he be an Englishman or a Scott I know not, is, as I heare, come out of Flaunders into Scotlande, and is well received there.

* * * *

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, Ye shall understand by the Quene's Majestie's letters what hath passed betwixt the French ambassador and her. It semeth that he sendeth now his secretary to hasten his revocation. And for yours, I assure you I do all that I can, and am in some hope shortly to give you knowledg therof. Wherwith I meane to send your sonne, who was very well-come to me, and well lyked. Wishing that he wer agayne with you, for that he semeth to have well profitted in observation of many thyngs there.

Mr. Tomworth* was sent to the Quene of Scotts uppon this occasion; the Scottish Quene hath sent twice hyther to require the Quene's Majestie to declare for what causes she did mislike of this marriadg, offering also to satisfy the same. In the meantyme troubles arise there betwixt her and the Erle of Murraye and others being frendly to the warm amyty of both the realmes, wherunto for sundry respects it seemeth convenient for us to have regard. The Duke, the Erles of Argile, Murray and Rothoss, with sundry Barons, are joyned together not to allow of the marriadg, otherwise than to have the relligion established by law, but the Quene refuseth in this sort: she will not suffer it to have the force of law, but of permission to every man to lyve according to his conscience. And herwith she hath retayned a great number of Protestants from associating openly with the other. She hath sent for the Erle Murray, but the mistrust is so farr entred on both sydes, that I thynk it will fall to an evill end, for she hath putt the Erle of Murray to the horn, and prohibited all persons to ayd hym. Nevertheless, the Duke, the Erles of Argile and Rothoss are together with hym. We shall heare by Mr. Tomworth what is most lykely to follow. The French ambassador maketh hast to depeche his secretary, and that maketh me to hasten upp this letter.

You may perchans by some private letter hereafter heare of a strange accident here, and therefore I will in few words gyve you some light. The Quene's Majesty is fallen into some mislyking of my Lord of Leicester, and he therwith much dismayed. You know how busy men in court will be to descant hereuppon. The Quene's Majesty letteth it appear in many overt speeches that she is sorry of her loss of tyme, and so is every good subject. †

* Tomworth was a gentleman of Elizabeth's privy chamber—he is said by some to have behaved somewhat rudely in his mission. He was stopped on his return, because he had no passport. The passport had not been obtained, in order not to acknowledge Darnley as king.

† The foregoing paragraph is partly in cypher.

What shall follow of this God knoweth. For my part I will do that becometh an honest man, not to procure harm to hym, though I know he hath not lacketh procurers for my harme. But God forgive them ! for I feare none of them, having so good a conscience of my well meaning both to her Majesty and the realme. If I wer as evill disposed as others, I could make a flame of this sparkell. But *fiat voluntas Dei* ! The Quene's Majestie, thanked be God, is well disposed towards mariadg. Th'Emperor's ambassador is departed with an honorable answer, and hymself well satisfyed ; and common opinion is, that the Archduke Charles will come, which if he do, and will accord with us in relligion, and shall be allowable for his person to her Majestie, then, except God shall purpose to contynue his displeasur against us, we shall see some success.

Here is an unhappy chance and monstrous. The serjeant porter, being the biggest gentleman in this court, hath marryed secretly the Lady Mary Grey,* the least of all the court. They are committed to severall prisons. The offence is very great. And so now being hasted by the French ambassador, I end. From Wyndsor, the 21st of August, 1565.

I thank you for your diligent advertisements.

Your assured to command,

W. CECILL.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

I do not well remember whether I wrote to you of the Emperor's ambassador's answer here. The Quene's Majesty will marry with none without sight of hys person, nor with any that shall dissent in religion ; for the rest of the articles

* Sister of the Lady Catherine Grey, who had already been imprisoned for a similar offence. The person she married was Martin Keys, groom-porter to Queen Elizabeth.

they are referred to the treaty betwixt King Phillipp and Queen Mary. I think the Archduke will come, but of his religion nobody shall know I think but her Majesty, nor she untill he see hope of spedying. The whole nobilitie to my understanding favor this very much, and my Lord of Leicester hath behaved himself very wisely to allow of it. I am so willing to have you come home, that, my brother being named as your successor, I do press hym much agaynst his will. The 30th of August, almost at midnight.

Our entercourse standeth uppon narrow poynts, and all for our impost of clothes: but yet I trust they will accord.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, considering your sonne commeth thyther, he can report to you all common news and rumors here, and yet percase all are not true that he may think true, for so I see men of good understanding here many tymes abused. Indede here are sondry devises of our own inwarde causes. Some make and devise talk, as though some of the counsell wer of one mynd concerning the Scottish causes, and some of another. True it is that arguments have bene made contrarywyse, some to ayd the Lordes of Scotland playnly and oppenly, some but covertly, some not at all; but in the end the Quene's Majesty hath resolved to use all good meanes by mediation, by outward countenance, to relieve them, but to do nothyng that may break peace.

Agayne ther are sondry rumors that the Lordes here do not accord together, that my Lord of Leicester should not have so great favor as he had; that my Lord of Sussex* and

* Cecil has entered in his journal during this year (1565.)

"June 16. The variance betwixt the Erles of Sussex and Leicester.

— 20. The two Erles of Sussex and Leicester accorded in the Quene's Majestie's presence."

he should be in strange termes ; that my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord Chamberlayn, my Lord of Hunsden, &c., should also not allow of my Lord of Leicester, that Mr. Hennadg should be in very good favour with her Majestie, and so mislyked by my Lord of Leicester, with such infinite toyes ; but I trust herof no harme in dede shall follow, for all these Lords are bent towards her Majestie's service, and doo not so much vary amongst themselves, as lewd men do report. To tell you trewly, I thynk the Queene's Majestie's favor to my Lord of Leicester be not so manifest as it was, to move men to thynk that she will marry with hym ; and yet his Lordship hath favor sufficient, as I heare hym saye to his good satisfaction. My Lord of Sussex thynketh that my Lord of Leicester might do more for hym in causes of Irland than he hath. My Lord of Norfolk loveth my Lord of Sussex earnestly, and so all that stock of the Howards seme to joyne in frendshipp together, and yet in my opinion without cause to be mislyked ; and for the Duke, I thynk England hath not had in this age a nobleman more lykely to prove a father and a staye to this country, and so I am gladd to perceave the Queene's Majesty to have hym in estimation : he is wise, just, modest, carefull, *et timens Deum*.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton is also much noted by speche to be a director of my Lord of Leicester, but I thynk my Lord well able to judg what is mete or unmete, and doth use Mr. Throgmorton frendly because he doth shew himself carefull and devote to his Lordship. What is sayd of me I thynk I cannot know ; but this I am assured of, that I have no affection to be of a party, but for the Queene's Majestie, and I will allwaise travell to accord noblemen, and not to minister devises of discord. You see I make report to my owne prayse, and to bely myself wer madnes, but when tryall shall be, you shall see I report truly of myself ; and God send me his assistance to be voyde of feare or partiall love to any but to her Majestie, whom whylest I serve truly, I do fynd many stumblyng blocks and dangerous.

Now of other common matters.

Our treaty of Brudges is contynued¹ untill the 15th of March, as by a proclamation herwith sent you shall see; and now we here are occupied in devisyng how either to accord without our disadvantage at the next metyng, or else to cease the intercourse, and nevertheless to contynew traffick and amyty: a matter indede lyke a maze to walk in.

We have lately devised a way for the stay of frequent depredations, the copy of certain articles I do herewith send you, and of a commission which is even now newly sent to all ports; only now Wilson, your old servant, is on the seas, and fyndeth more favor than is mete nere Barwyke. He semeth to serve agayne the Queene of Scotland.

Malvesyre* is returned, and has not profitted with the Queene, as he sayth; so earnestly she is bent agaynst the Duke and his accomplyces.

She hath bene in the feeld with five or six thousand these eight dayes, but what she shall obteyne I cannot tell. The Lords are at Dumfrees without any force of importance. Ther principall force is an unyversall good will of the realme, saving of a few about the Queene.

Sir Henry Sydney hath his commission to be Lord Deputy in Irland; he departeth within these four dayes. Mr. Arnold shall return, as others have doone, with mislykyng. Of the Lady Cecilia of Sweden,† your sonne can report, how boun-

¹ *i. e.* adjourned.

* The French ambassador to Scotland.

† Sister to the King of Sweden, and Margravine of Baden. "She and her husband," saith Stowe, "after a long and dangerous journey, wherein they had travelled almost eleven months, sailing from Stockholm, crossing the seas over into Lifeland, from whence by land they came about by Poland, Prussy, Pomerland, Meckberge, Friseland, and so to Antwerpe in Brabant, then to Caleis, and at the last in September landed at Dover, where they were met and received by the Lord Cobham with a goodly traine of knights and gentlemen." She was delivered of a son on the fifteenth of September, "which child the last of September was christened in the Queene's Majestie's chappell of Whitehall, at Westminster, the Queene's Majestie in her owne

tifully she lyveth here, of whom also there are sundry opinions, some that she meant to set on foot her brother's former sute of mariadg, but perceiving that not to be found probable, some now saye that she will further my Lord of Leicester's towards her Majestie, but if she shall fynd no success therof, then some will saye as they list, and thus you see how all thyngs are subject to reports. Some also, yea many, look for answer from th'emperor for Charles' coming, and many thynk therof to see success. I indede thynk if he should come, that then I should be nerer to joye or greef, for therof must nedes insue a determynation what to looke for. And thus have I ranged over the feelds, wrytyng as you see at rovers, but yet so as I thynk you will gather some kynd of certenty wherby to judg of reports. The Queene's Majestie hath answered to the French ambassador, that wher he offred that the Kyng there wold send by hym, that should come to be stalled her, the order of France for my Lord of Leicester, and another, she thanked the French Kyng, but for any to be sent with more than to be stalled at this tyme she required to have it differred.

Now for yourself: the Queene's Majestie hath determined that my brother-in-law, Mr. Thomas Hobby,* shall come in

person being godmother, the Archbishop of Canterburie and the Duke of Norfolke godfathers: at the christening the Queene gave the child to name *Edwardus Fortunatus*, for that God had so graciously assisted his mother in so long and dangerous a journey." The Margrave left England on his return, near the end of the year. The Margravine stayed some time after her husband's departure. A correspondent of the Earl of Shrewsbury writes, Dec. 11, 1565, "The Marquis of Bawden, being gone home into Germanye, hathe lefte here behynde him in the courte the Lady Cecilie his wyfe, with whose companye and conversation the Quene is so moche delighted as she doothe not onely allowe her very honorable bouge of courte, thre measse of meate twyse a daye, for her mayds and the rest of her familie, but also her Majestie hathe delte so liberally with her husbände, that he hathe a yerely pension of two thousand crownes, which he is to enjoye so longe as he suffereth the ladye his wife to resyde here in Englande." Lodge, *Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 358.

* Sir Thomas Hobby, of Bisham Abbey in Berkshire, who married

your place, and he being therof moved by me, hath taken it unkyndly at my hand. Wheruppon her Majestie hath willed my Lord of Leicester to lett hym understand peremptorily her Majestie's pleasur; which, though unwillyngly, I know he will not deny; and my Lord dayly promiseth me to send for hym, but yet it is not done, and therfore I mean to have my Lady your wife either to speak or send to hys Lordship. And now I must end with this paper. From Westminster, the 16th of Octob. 1565.

Your assured to command,

W. CECILL.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO RANDOLPH.

BY THE QUEEN.

ELIZABETH R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greete you well. Understanding by a letter of our cousin, th'erle of Bedford, to our Secretarie, that he thinketh you to be not out of danger there by malice, in so much as some pistoles have ben shot into the howse where you lodge; we have thoughte it meete, not only to advise you, if you fynde any such perrill, but also to lycence you to withdraw yourself for a tyme to Barwicke: pretending the same to be for your own pryvate busynesse, in sort, as you may returne to your charge upon occasion.

Gyven under our signet, at our Palais of Westminster, the third of October, 1565, the seventh yere of our reign.

EARL OF CLANRICKARD * TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

After my right harty commendations, your Worship may Elizabeth, fourth daughter of Sir Anthony Coke, whose eldest daughter Mildred was the wife of Cecil. Sir Thomas died at Paris, in 1566.

* Richard de Burgh, only son of Ulick de Burgh, first Earl of Clanrickard by Maud de Lacie. Sir Henry Sydney, in his account of his

be advertised that O'Neill* came into the lower parts of Con-nought, and camped ther in O'Rork's country, and O'Con-ner Sligo's country, and M'Dermond's country, six or seven dayes, and ther he burnt the corne and spoyled the wholl countrys, carrying away thence above three or four thousand cattell. Hys coming thither was to require the tribute due in owld tyme to them that wer kyngs in thys realme, and wold have had the same yearly payd to himself, and for securitye thereof he required pledges to be delivered unto him from the same Lords and such other th'inhabitants of these parts; he requyred also to have an ordynary force quarterly levyed out of all these countrys, at suche tyme as he

progress in 1567, addressed to the Queen, bears an honorable testimony to the Earl of Clanrickarde's government of his own lands:—"From thence I travelled thorough Clanrycarde, and founde the countrie in good quiet, universallie well tilled and manured, and was at two of the Erle's howses verie honorablye entertayned."

* We are now approaching Shane's last rebellion. Whilst he was professing the most faithful allegiance to the Queen, under pretence of attacking the Scots of the Isles, he had long been making extensive preparations for war, and rejected the title of Tyrone which had been conferred upon him, vaunting amongst his own men that he would be King of Ulster. "When he saw that he was able to levy of his owne a thousand horse and foure thousand foote, and had already a guard of seven hundred men, he disdained in a barbarous pride all such honorable titles in comparison of the name of O'Neal, and vaunted himself among his owne people for King of Ulster, trayned the country people to warre, offered the kingdome of Ireland to the Queene of Scots, and boyled in hatred against the English in such sort, that he named a castell which he built in the lake Eagh, Feoghnegall, that is, *the hatred of the English*, and strangled some of his owne men for that they fed on English bread." (Camden.) The preparations of this turbulent chieftain were much neglected by the English court. They excited in the mind of Sussex great uneasiness, and the last days of his government were spent in taking measures for defence. He was succeeded by Sir Henry Sydney, who was immediately engaged in suppressing the open and formidable rebellion of the O'Neil. Sydney was made Lord President on the 13th of October, 1565, and arrived at Dublin on the 13th of January following.

should rysse up and require the same to mayntayne his hosts withall. Your wisdom maye consyder hereof, for I dout it be to any good purpose, and I pray you blame me not for wryting plainely what I think, for I assure you it is a great lykehood towards, that the realme, if it be not spedely looked into, wyll be at a great hasard to run as far owt of her Majestie's hands as ever it was out of any her Highnes' predecessors in tyme before passed. And if it had pleased my Lord Justice and the residue of her Majestie's consell to have granted unto me such petitions as I was suitor to their Honors for to have, for the daunting of the unruly neyghbors about me, and to have brought them in under my governance, as I requyred, I trust I should have ben able enough to have met O'Neill with all his force, and repulsed him from any such presumptuous attempt. And although he was of so great force, yet if we had met, as ther was but a mountayne between us both, I marched so near hym lying in campe against my enemies, I trust I shold have adventured then a set against hym, for I had as many horsemen almost as he had. This matter ought to be looked unto in due tyme, or ells it will grow to a nere end, I fear me, and if the Lord Justice and the counsell will apoynt me ayd for these parts of the realme, and to subdue them that are owt in my country, that their power might be with me, I trust I shold work so as O'Neill should repent his coming hither to demand such tribute, and it is not a good touch of any that meaneth to be a good subject and servant to her Majesty indede.

I beseche you let me know your mynd herin by this berer, my servant, and what my Lord Justice and the rest of the counsell shall determyne herin. And so I take my leave, at Balboughreugh, the 15th of October, 1565.

Your assured frend,

RICHARD CLANRYCKERD.

THE EARL OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

After my most hartiest commendations to your good Lordship, I receyved now lately from you a most friendly, honorable, and gentle letter of the 20th of this present, contayning very good and necessary advise for these tymes. I most hartily thanke your Lordship for the same, and if I could tell or devise which way to become more bound unto you, then already I am, I would not lett to confess and acknowledge the same. But this to be said for all, that I am your Lordship's, as assured as you desire.

The Quene's Majestie, as appeareth by her Majestie's letters, is offended at the Earle of Murray's coming up,* which as I wrote to you and others, I could not withstand without force, for perswasions nor disswasions would not serve. And I had no commandement from her Majestie to staye him here, no more have I to staye the other Lords and the rest, if they were disposed to return home. And how I shall deale in these cases I knowe not, for thinking to do the best, it is misliked, and almost nothing well taken that I do. I shall therefore keep myselfe within the compass of the commission I have, or shall have from tyme to tyme, and will not henceforth be soe forward, but will be rather slowe, for I see it is all one, yet more thankes me seemeth hath the one than the other.

I am advertised fowre or five wayes that the Scottish Queen meaneth to take Ay nouth,† and that even shortly. I have written heretofore that it hath been often viewed, and now I write that it will be fortified. That Queen sendeth men to divers places, as to Kelsoe four hundred, to Hume Castle fifty harquebusyers, and yet cannot we be persuaded that the Queen meaneth warres, because we meane peace. How peace will

* The Earl of Murray, with other Lords, having incurred the displeasure of their Queen, by their open opposition to her marriage with Darnley, took refuge in England, whence they now returned, and after Rizzio's murder were taken into favour.

† Eyemouth, about seven miles from Berwick.

follow upon such prognostications of warres I cannot conceyve, nor it will not sinke into my head.

I have heard the old borderers saye that the Scottes were ever those that broke the peace, and sett upon the warres, either by stealyng or open violence. And because they be of an old custome the first, and ever aforehand with us, we are loath to break them of the same, for we never stirre till we have receyved too much injury, or else feele it smart too sore. I would be as glad of a good and assured peace as any other, and as much I have done to preserve the same. These news I heare of Aymouth come from the borderers here, who allbeit they heare somewhat from other places, yet by my next I shall tell you more certainly how all thinges thereabouts will frame. And so for this tyme, &c. From Berwicke, this 26th of October, 1565.

Your Lordship's most assured friend,

BEDFORD.

RANDOLPH TO CECIL.

I have the longer forborne to wryte unto your Honour, attending upon some matter worthy the reporting. Thys court of longe tyme hath been very quiet, small resorte of any, and manye of those that come but slenderly welcome for the great and importune sute made by them for my Lord of Murraye and the reste who by no meanes can fynde any favour at her Grace's handes, in so muche that Roberte Melvin hath received for resolute answer that let the Queen of England do for them what she wyll, theie shall never live in Scotlande and she together. I cannot but thynke them in verie hevie case, and so God assyste them, as yt is his wyll! Roberte Melvin* departeth towards them shortly agayn;

* This Robert Melvil, the brother of Sir James Melvil, whose own memoirs were published by G. Scott, was sent to England by Mary, openly to treat on public affairs, but secretly as a spy.

and what further cometh of hym I knowe not. It is nowe spoken for certayn that she is with chylde, and as it is sayde she felte it stirre in her belly upon newe yere's daye. Some ladies affirm that she hathe milke in her brestes, and fynding all other tokens to concur belonging to women lately married, assure it for certayne that it can be none other.

What other folk's opinions are I neede not to wryte, only I maye saye that manie can hardly beleve that ther is anye suche matter, and therefore I dowte not but you wyll for a tyme suspende your judgment, seeing there are here so manie that knowe not what theie may think, that are as curious to know the veritie (yf it were possible) as any men maye be.

I cannot tell what mislykings of late there hathe bene betwene her Grace and her husbände: he presses earnestly for the matrimoniall crowne, which she is lothe hastelye to graunte, but willing to keepe somewhat in store untill she knowe how well he is worthy to enjoye suche a sovereigntie, and therefor it is thoughte that the parliment for a tyme shal be deferred, but hereof I can wryte no certayntie.

The soddayne death of the late Pope* hathe greatlye altered manie of our purposes, and to have the more to greve us with we heare that the legate that lay in Flanders that came from his Holynes is drowned in a shippe beside Aberdyne, driven by tempeste to that coaste.

We heare also of the shippe that was wrecked besyde Bam-broke,† and feare that it was he whom from hence we sente into Spayne. We desyre rather the letters that were founde with hym, then make any great accompt of so small a somme of monie as two thousand pounds that was founde with hym. If of all these cares we be not relieved throughe the good hope we have that the Cardinall of Lorayne shal be Pope, we thinke ourselffes farre behynde hande.

* Pius IV. died on the 8th of December, 1565, and was succeeded by Michael Ghisleri as Pius V., elected on the 17th January following.

† Bamborough.

Ramboyliet* is daylie looked for with the order. Whether he cometh to any other intente or purpose that unto the good amytye that is to be desyred betwene the two countries may be hurtefull, your Honor knoweth better then I, and am assured wyll provide for it in tyme, if any such be. I am sorrie to see thinges stande in suche termes that I cannot assure the Quene's Majestie at this present who in this countrie is her frende. I am loath to make any thyng appeare worse then it is, but am muche loather that her Majestie sholde be abused, for so I feare her Highnes shall fynde yt. This Quene attendeth dayly the answer touchyng commissioners, but in speciall what shal be saide to the laste complaynte agaynst the Earle of Bedforde, upon which only it stayeth that Blacader and other seeke not the revenge where theie thynke to take moste advantage. If of my doinge her Grace have made any reporte, I truste so muche in the Quene's Majestie's moste speciall goodnes and favour, that her Highnes' judgement shal be suspended untill I maye presently answer whatsoever anye of this nation is able to charge me with.

I have wrytten unto your Honor at sometymes of some confederation or league to be betwene my Lord of Argyle and Shane O'Neil. I see nowe that withowte delay it taketh effecte. Theie have of late mette together, and marriage concluded betwene James Macconel sone and O'Nel's daughter, and O'Nel's sone and James' daughter, to enjoy the lande that James Macconel made clayme unto in Irelande.

The Earle of Argyle fynding here so little favour and so small supporte, otherwyse maketh hymself by other meanes so stronge as he can.

His wyfe is presently here in this towne, arrived but yester-daye, and hathe not yet bene at the courte. What her sute is I knowe not, nor yet James Macconel's wyfe, who also is here, with whome I truste to speake in one day or two, to

* Rambouillet, the French Ambassador in Scotland.

knowe further of these matters. I have no farther to trouble your Honor with at thys tyme, but moste humblye take my leave. At Edenb. the 16th of Januarie, 1565.

Your Honor's bounden ever at command,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

Excepte it please your Honor to chyde my man from courte, he careth not in what case he leave me bothe for monie or anything els.*

RANDOLPH TO CECIL.

My humble duetic considered. What to write of the present state of this countrey I am so uncertayne by reason of the daylie alteration of men's mindes, that it maketh me much slower then otherwise I wolde.

Within these fiftene daies there was some good hope that this Quene would have shewed some favour towards the Lords, and that Robert Melvin should have returned unto them with some comfort upon some conditions. Since that tyme there are come out of France, Cleran by land, and Thornton by sea, th' one from the Cardinall, the other from the Bishop of Glascowe. Since whose arrivall neither can there be good word gotten, nor appearance of any good intended them, except they be able to persuade the Quene's Majesty our soveraigne to make her heir apparent to the crowne of Englande. I write of this nothing less then I know that she hath spoken, and by all meanes that she thinketh best and doth travayle to bring that to passe.

There was a bande latelie devised in which the late Pope, th'Emperor, the King of Spaine, the Duke of Savoy, with divers Princes of Italy, and the Quene mother suspected

* A long postscript to this letter is omitted, as containing nothing of much interest.

to be of the same confederacy, to maintayne papistrýe throughout Christendome. This bande was sent out of France by Thorneton, and is subscribed by this Quene. The copie wherof, remayning with her and the principall, to be returned verie shortly, as I heare, by Mr. Steven Wilson, a fit minister for such devilish devises. If the copie herof can be gotten, it shal be sent as conveniently I maye.*

Monsieur Rambolet came to this towne upon Mondaye. He spake that night with the Quene and her husband, but not longe. The next day he had long conference with them both, but nothing came to the knowledge of any whereof theie intreated.

I cannot speak with any that hath any hope that there wil be any good done for the Lords by him, though it is said that he hath very good will to do to the uttermost of his power. He is lodged nere to the courte, and liveth upon the Quene's chardges.

Upon Sunday the order is given; great means made by many to be present that daye at the masse. Upon Candlemas daye there carryed their candles with the Quene, her husbände, th'Earle of Lenox, and Earle Atholl. Divers other Lords have bene called together, and requyred to be at the masse that daye. Some have promised, as Cossells, Mongomerie, Seton, Catnes; other have refused, as Fleminge, Liveston, Lindsay, Huntley, and Bothwell: and of them all Bothwell is stoutest, but worst thought of. It was moved in counsell that masse should have bene in St. Giles' Church, which I believe was rather to tempt men's mindes, then intended. Indeede she was of late minded agayne to send Roberte Melvyn to negotiate with such as she trusteth in amongst the Quene's Majestie's subjects, of whose good wills this way I trust that the brute is greater then the truthe. But in these matters her Majesty is too wise not in tyme to

* There seems to be no doubt that Mary had secretly joined this confederacy, and that it was more particularly directed against the Scottish Protestants and Elizabeth.

beware and provide for the worste. Some in that country are thought to be privy unto the bandes and confederacy of which I have written, wherof I am sure there is something, though perchance of all I have not heard the truthe.

In this courte dyvers contentions, quarrells, and debates ; nothing so much sought as to maintayne mischief and disorder. David* yet retayneth still his place, not without heart grief to many that see their soveraigne guided chiefly by suche a fellow.

The Quene hath utterlie refused to do anie good to my Lord of Argile, and it is said that that shal be the first voyage that she will make after that she is delivered. Of her beinge with childe, the brute is common that she is, but hardlie believed of manie. And of this I can assure you, that there have of late appeared some tokens to the contrary.

Two of the Hawles, the best of those that latelie loppe out of England, are suters here for supporte and comforte. What answer they shall get as yet I knowe not. My Lord of Argile and Shane O'Neil have mett and accorded to take each other's parte.

I trouble your Honor no further at thys tyme, but moste humbly take my leave. At Edinburgh, the 7th of February, 1565.

Your Honor's bounden alwayes to command,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM,† TO CECIL.

Gratia et pax. I receaved your Honor's letters in the behalfe

* Rizzio.

† James Pilkington, descended of a good family in Lancashire, being third son of James Pilkington, of Rivington, in that county. He sought refuge in Germany during Mary's reign. On his return, after the accession of Elizabeth, he was elected master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and was made Bishop of Durham on the 2d March, 1560. He died in 1576.

of Richard Gascoine for certain coole mines* which he clames to be his, and I say, nay. Your wisdom knowes, that men will allege for their owne commoditie more than will be proved true; but I trust your Honor hais not hitherto taken me with any forged informations. I grant he hais a gift from one of the Bishops, but not confirmed by the Dean and Chapter that yet can be sene: but with in the same boundes th'Erle of

* The history of the coal-trade is a curious subject. The trade of Newcastle might be traced to a tolerably remote date. A letter in the Sadler Papers talks of sending for Newcastle colliers to work the mines at the siege of Leith in 1560. Haynes has printed a draught by Cecil, dated 7th August, 1563, entitled "Memoryall at Wyndesor contra Gallos," wherein one proposition for injuring the French is, "To prohibitt the carryng of New-Castle coles to the French." In a very early black-letter tract of the Cryes of London, preserved in the Pepysian library, one cry is "Coles, good coles, one peny a bushel." In MS. Lansdowne, No. 107, p. 89, is the following draught, drawn up between 1560 and 1570, which is curious as giving us an incident in the life of the famous navigator, Martin Frobisher. From an early period our navy seems to have been furnished with able sailors from the Newcastle collieries.

"For the measuring of Sea-Cole at Newcastle. The effect of the Bill.

"Of the greate deceit that is used aboute the measuring of sea coales in New-Castell and elsewhere throughout Yorkeshire, by the bellmen and others, whereby her Majestie's subjects are greatly deceived, and the pryces therof greatly enhaunced to the greate damage of manie of her Majestie's subjectes. That it would please your Majestie of your princely goodnes, to graunte your letters patents to Martyn Furbusher, gentleman, and Richarde Morley, of London, gentleman, for the measuring of all such sea-coales as are there sold or to be sold or layden, and to have for a chawtherne measuringe fower pence, two pence of the buyer, and two pence of the seller: to commence, &c.

The Newcastle coals were then termed sea-coals. A century later, Fuller speaks of coal-mines in Leicestershire, Shropshire, and Warwickshire, and divides coal into three sorts.—"One may observe a threefold difference in our English coale. 1. *Sea-coale*, brought from Newcastle. 2. *Land-coale*, at Mendip, Bedworth, &c. and carted into other countries. 3. What one may call *river* or *fresh-water coale*, digged out in this county, (Shropshire,) at such a distance from Severne, that they are easily ported by boat into other shires."

Northumberland and the Lord Lumlei,* and other three freeholders have land, and paie me yerely a free rent, and Mr. Gascoin himselfe too for one parcell within the same. Mr. Gascoin also within the same boundary hais one of his owne mines that is my copyholder. My predecessor fyftie yeres since lett a cole-pitt within the same waste, as manie yet living can testifie, and have sene. Th'Erle of Westmoreland that married his mother† made a great a doe of late to recover it: but after he understood the truth of it, he let the matter slip.

These four yeres they have desired to have our counsell on both sides to talke of it: the day and place were appointed, and they refused to talke, being present. His wife's frends of late have misused both me and my men, that can give evidence in it, with very bigg and uncomely wordes, but I cannot leve so great a piece of ground for bragges.

My Lord of Westmoreland, my Lord Evers,‡ and I have had like controversies. They required our counsels might talke of them, and in so doing they shewed so gudd matter, that all was ended.

I require the like of them, but it will not be; and because they have sought favor at your Honor's hand, he is not in England who I can be better content to heare the matter than your Honor. If I doe him wrong, all these other holders doe him wrong too, for they lie within his boundary, yet nothing is said to them.

I trust not, Godd willing! to live the day to doe the simplest living any wrong; and to this day I trust the world cannot charge me. I love not law, and yet, I praise Godd! law never went against me.

I have sent your Honor such conclusions as be disputed at

* John Lord Lumley, of Lumley Castle, Durham.

† Henry, Earl of Westmoreland, married for his second wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Roger Chumley, widow of Sir Henry Gascoigne, of Sedbury, near Richmond, whose son, this Richard Gascoigne, married a daughter of Thomas Norton, of Norton Conyers.

‡ Lord Evre of Wilton, in Durham.

Lovain,* and sent over hither. Wise men doe mervail that politie can suffer such sede of sedition, althoughe for tryall of the doctrine it were not amisse to heare th'adversary what he can say, yet the doctrine being received, and the contrary suffered to be spredd abroad, to the troubling of the state, in my opinion is dangerous. Godd turn all to the best! butt surely evill men picke much evil owt of such books, even against the politie. I wold be gladd to here what hope your Honor has for the restoring my detained lands: I talked with my Lord Treasurer for the same, and he thinkes they might be obtained. If I could doe any more gudd than put your Honor in remembrance of them, I wold: but I am now at the physician's commandment, that I cannot so well attend as I wold. Thus ever troubling your Honor, I take my leave. The Lord blesse you, to serve him and his church sincerely!
21 Martii. Yours ever,

JA. Δυνωλμ.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, though you thynk you have cause to blame me for not sending my brother Hobby away with more speed, yet so you will suspend your offence untill your coming, and heare of me that I will not wryte, I dare aventure to abyde your chyding. When he will departe, this berer shall tell you. This daye he hath taken his leave of her Majestie, and promiseth to be at the sea syde within these ten dayes at the fardest.

Your servant can tell you as much as I know of the Scottish matters, which have too many circumstances to be put in wrytyng. God send some other success than what they portend! I am in dowt to which of the partyes I should wish

* Where was one of the chief seminaries of the English refugee priests, who were continually printing books against Elizabeth, which were secretly distributed in England.

such victory as percase in their heates they covet, and yet I cannot thynk evil of the Erle of Murray. I see the subjects brought to desperation, and the Prince into indignation.

It was full tyme that Sir H. Sydney went into Ireland, for he hath found all out of joynt there. The good subjects in all parts oppressed, the Irish bearing rule, but in all no peril, saving in Shan, who will (he sayth in his dronkenes) be Lord or King of Ulster; but I trust his head shall be from his shoulders before any crown can be made ready to make hym either King or Erle. Whatsoever my Lord of Kildare did before this deputy's coming, now we are assured that he doth and will contynue to do notable service against this rebell O'Neyle, against whom, because we wold advisedly proceed, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain goeth over to conferr with the Lord Deputie, and in the meantyme we send treasure afore-hand. We have cause to feare that O'Neyle's boldness is fedd out of Scotland.

Of my Lord of Leicester's absence, and of his return of favor to others here, if your man tell you the tales of court or citie, they be fond and many untrue. Briefly I affirm, that the Quene's Majesty may be, by malicious tongs, not well reported, but in truth she herself is blameless, and hath no spot of evill intent. Marry, there may lack specially in so busy a world circumspections to avoyde all occasions.

The matter of Charles* is of her surely mynded, but the progress therin hath many letts. My Lord of Norfolk hath shewed himself a very noble man and wise. The matter is also much allowed of the nobilitie. God direct the Quene's Majesty to marriadg in some place, for otherwise her regyment will prove very troublesome and unquiet.

And so having nothyng worth wrytyng that I have not committed to your servant Barloo, I end. 26 Martij. 1566.

Yours as you know, assured,

W. CECILL.

* The Archduke Charles of Austria, who was making advances of marriage to Elizabeth.

THE EARL OF BEDFORD AND RANDOLPH TO THE COUNCIL
OF ENGLAND.*

May it please your Honors, Hearing of so manie matters as we do, and fynding suche varietie in the reportes, we have muche ado to decerne the veritie, which maketh us the slower, and loather to put any thinge in wrytinge, to th'intente we wolde not that your Honors, and by you the Quene's Majestie, our soveraigne, sholde be advertised but of the verie truthe as nere as we can possiblie. To this ende we thoughte goode to sende up Captaine Carewe, who was in Edenbourgh at the tyme of the laste attemptate, who spake there with dyvers, and after that with the Quene's self and her husbände. Conforme to that which we have learned by other, and knowe by his reporte, we fynde the same confirmed by the parties self that were there present, and assisters unto those that were executers of the acte.

Thys we finde for certayne, that the Quene's husband being entred into a vehement suspicion of David,† that by hym somethynge was commytted which was moste agaynst the Quene's honor, and not to be borne of his parte, fyrste communicated his mynde to George Duglas, who fynding his sorrowes so greate, sought all the meanes he coulde to put some remedie to his grief, and communicating the same unto my Lord Ruthen by the King's commandement, no other waye could be founde than that David sholde be taken out of the waye. Wherein he was so erneste, and daylie

* This interesting and circumstantial letter redounds very little to the credit of the Queen of Scots, and therefore, apparently, it was not printed by Keith. The impudence with which Mary, in her passion, avows and justifies her criminal connection with Rizzio, and the brutal and at the same time contemptible behaviour of Darnley, form a picture of wickedness and cruelty, such, as Von Raumer with reason exclaims, that "few scenes in the history of the world can be compared with it."

† David Rizzio.

pressed the same, that no reste could be had untill it was put in execution. To this it was founde good that the Lord Morton and Lord Lindesaye should be made privie, to th'intente that theie might have their friends at hande if neede requyred, which cawsed them to assemble so many as theie thoughte sufficient agaynst the tyme that this determination of theirs should be put in execution, which was determined the 9th of this instant, three dayes before the parliamente sholde begin, at what tyme the said Lords were assured that th'erles Argile, Murraye, Rothes, and their complices should have bene forfeited, if the King could not be persuaded through this meanes to be their frendes, who for the desyre he had that his intente should take effecte th'one waye, was content to yelde without all difficultie to th'other, with this condition, that theie wolde give their consents that he mighte have the crowne matrimoniall.

He was so impatient to see these things he sawe, and were daylie brought to his eares, that he daylie pressed the saide Lord Ruthen that there might be no longer delaye; and to th'intent it might be manifeste to the worlde that he approved the acte, was contente to be at the doing of it himself. Upon the Saturdaye, at night, nere unto eight of the clocke, the King conveyeth himself, the Lord Ruthen, George Douglas, and two other, thorowe his own chamber, by the privie stairs up to the Quene's chamber, joyning to which there is a cabinet about twelve footes square, in the same a little lowe reposing bedde, and a table, at the which there were sitting at the supper the Quene, the Ladie Argile, and David, with his cappe upon his heade. Into the cabinet ther cometh in the King and Lord Ruthen, who willed David to come forthe, saying that ther was no place for him. The Quene sayde that it was her wyll. Her husbände answerde that it was agaynste her honor. The Lord Ruthen saide that he sholde learne better his duetie, and offering to have taken hym by the arme, David tooke the Quene by the blighes of her gowne, and put hymselfe behinde the Quene, who

wolde gladly have saved hym, but the King having loosed his hands, and holding her in his armes, David was thruste owte of the cabinet thorowe the bed-chamber, into the chamber of presence, where were the Lord Morton and Lord Lindesaye, who intending that night to have reserved hym, and the next day to hang hym, so manie being abowte them that bore hym evill will, one thruste hym into the bodie with a dagger, and after hym a greate many other, so that he had in his bodie above sixty wounds. It is tolde for certayne that the King's owne dagger was lefte sticking in hym; whether he struck hym or not, we cannot knowe for certayne. He was not slayne in the Quene's presence as was saide, but going down the stayres owte of the chamber of presence.

Ther remayned a longe tyme with the Quene, her husbände and the Lord Ruthen. She made, as we heare, greate intercession that he sholde have no harme. * She blamed greatlye her husbände, that was the author of so fowle an acte. It is sayde that he dyd answer, that David had more companie of her body than he, for the space of two moneths, and therefore, for her honor and his owne contentement he gave his consent that he shold be taken awaye. "It is not," sayth she, "the woman's parte to seeke the husbände, and therefore in that the faulte was his owne." He said, that when he came, she either wolde not, or made herselfe sicke. "Well," sayth she, "you have taken your laste of me and your farewell." "That were pittie," sayth the Lord Ruthen, "he is your Majestie's husbände, and you must yelde duetie to eache other." "Why may not I," sayth she, "leave hym as well as your wife did her husbände? Other have done the like."

The Lord Ruthen saide that she was lawfullie divorced from her husbände, and for no suche cause as the king found

* "It is our parts rather to passe this matter over in silence, than to make anye suche rehersall of things committed unto us in secret, but we know to whom we wryte, and above all things to your wisdoms."

hymselfe greeved. Besides, this man was meane, base,emie to the nobilitie, shame to her, and destruction to her Grace's country. "Well," sayth she, "it shall be deare blude to some of you, if hys be spylte." "God forbid," sayth the Lord Ruthen, "for the more your Grace showe yourself offended, the worlde will judge the worse."

Her husbände thys tyme speaketh lyttle. Her Grace contynuallie weepeth. The Lord Ruthen being evill at ease and weake, calleth for a drinke, and sayth, "This I must do with your Majestie's pardon," and persuadeth her in the best sorte he could, that she wolde pacifie herself.

In this mean tyme there rose a comber in the courte, to pacifie which there wente downe the Lord Ruthen, who wente straighte to the Earles Huntlye, Bothwell, and Athall, to quiet them, and to assure them from the King, that nothing was intended against them. Theie notwithstanding taking feare when theie hearde that my Lord of Murraye wolde be there the nexte daye, and Argile meete them, Huntlye and Bothwell got owte of a wyndow, and so departe. Athall had leave of the Kinge, with Flyske and Landores, (who was lately called Lyslaye, the parson of Ovne), to go where they wolde; and being conveyde owte of the courte by the Lord Liddington, theie wente that night to suche places where theie thoughte themselves in most saulftie.

Before the Kinge lefte tawlke with the Quene, in the hearinge of the Lord Ruthen, she was content that he sholde lye with her that night. We know not how he forslowe¹ hymselfe, but came not at her, and excused hymselfe to his friends that he was so sleepeie that he coulde not wake in due tyme.

There were in this compaynie two that came in with the King, th'one Andrewe Car of Fawsensyde, who, the Quene saythe, wolde have stroken her with a dagger, and one Patrick Balentyne, brother to the justice clerke, who also, her Grace sayth, offered a dagge² agaynste her bellye with cocke

¹ Let himself be overcome by sloth.

² A kind of pistol.

down. We have bene earnestly in hande with the Lord Ruthen to knowe the veritie, but he assureth us of the contrarie. There were in the Quene's chamber the Lorde Roberte, Arthur Ersken, one or two other. These at the fyrste offering to make some defence, the Lord Ruthen drew his dagger, and fewe mo weapons than that were not drawne nor seen in her Grace's presence, as we are by the saide Lord assured.

The nexte daye, aboute seven of the clocke after noone, ther arrived the Earle of Murraye and th'other with hym that were in England. He spake immediately with the King, and straight after with the Quene. She sayde that he was welcome, and layde the faulte upon other, that he was owte of the cuntrye, requyred of hym to be a good subjecte, and she wold be to hym as he oughte. The next daye he spake with her agayne, as also my Lord of Morton and Lord Ruthen, who exhorted her humblye to caste off her care, to study for that which might be her safetie, weale, and honor, promising for their parts obedience and service as becomed true and faithfull subjects. She accepted their sayings in good worthe, wyllled them to devyse what mighte be for their securitie, and she wolde subscribe it. She sendeth for the Lord of Liddington, and in gentle words deviseth with hym that he wolde perswade that she might have her libertie, and the garde that was about her removed, seeing that she had graunted their requests. He founde it verie good, and not manie of the Lords, as we here, that myslyked it. All men being gone to their lodgings, and no suspicion taken of any that either she wolde departe, or not perform the promise to the Lords, abowte twelve of the clocke at night she conveyed herself a private waye oute of the house, she, her husbände, and one gentlewoman came to the place where Arthur Ersken and the captayn of her garde kepte the horses, and so rode her waye behynde Arthur Ersken untill she came to Seton. There she tooke a horse to herself and rode to Dombarre, to the castle, whither resorted unto her the

Lords Huntley and Bothewell, and so dyvers of the whole countrye.

The Lords being thus disappointed, sent the nexte daye the Lord Simple to her Grace with requeste from their Lordships unto her Majestie to fulfill her promise, to signe that byll for their securitie. He was differred two or three dayes, untill suche tyme as divers of the Lords (of the which the Earle of Glencairne was the fyrste, the Earle Rothes nexte, and some other) by secret meanes had gotten their remission and were fully restored, who breaking from the reste, as their force diminished, so dyd her Grace's increase, and where before theie were able to have at the castle defended themselves, theie were fayne to seeke their owne saultie.

To this also the slowe coming of the Earle of Argile was a great impediment, who being not yet come to Edenborough, dyd put no small dowte lest that he wolde followe the same waye which Glencarne and Rothes had done. The Earle Morton and Lord Ruthen finding themselves lefte by the King for all his fair promises, bonds, and subscriptions, and seeing the other fall from them, (saving the Earle of Murraye, and such as were of the laste enterpryse,) thought beste to provide for themselves, and so every one of them take their severall waye, where theie thynke that theie may be moste at ease or suertie. Whose names we sende herewith to your Honor.* The Earle of Argile being come to

* The following is the inclosure here alluded to :—

“The names of such as were doers and of counsell in this laste attemptate, committed at Edenb. the 9th of March, 1566.

The Earle of Morton; Lord Ruthen; Lord Lyndesaye; the Master of Ruthen; Lord of Liddington, Secret. Mr. James Magil, Clerke of the Regester; Sir John Balendin; Justice Clarke; St. Come; Mr. Adam Erskene, Abbot of Combuskenethe; Larde of Drumwhastle, called Conyngham; Larde of Carse, Montethe; Larde Balvarde, Murraye; Larde of Loughleven; his brother that married the heyres of Bouchan; Andrewe Carre of Fawdensyde; Ormeston; Brimston; Elpheston; Hauton; Cauder; Streuehauke; Patricke Balentine; Whittingham;

Lythecowe, my Lord of Murraye with his frends go to hym. Abowte the tyme that the Lords left Edenbourgh, the Quene departed from Dombar towards it. She enterde the towne abowte three thousand persons, all men being commanded to attend upon her Grace at her pleasure. The noblemen and beste able remayne yet there. She lodgeth not in the Abbaye, but in a house in the towne, in the Hye Streate, and yester-daye removed to one other nearer the castle and larger. The nexte daye after her arrivall, she sendeth the parson of Flyske to Lythecowe, with conditions to my Lords Argyle, Murraye, and the reste, which being by them founde sufficient for their saulftie, with restitution to their lands and goods, have accepted, with these restrayntes, not for a space to come nere the courte, nor yet to be sutors for those that committed the laste attemptate. The Kinge hath utterlie forsaken them, and protested before the counsell that he was not consenting to the death of David, and that it is sore agaynst his wyll: he wyll neither mayntayne them nor defende them. Whereupon the nexte daye publicke declaration was made at the marquet crosse of Edenbourgh, the 21st of this instant, agaynste the Lords, declaringe the King's innocence in that matter.

As manie as were at this acte or of counsell, are summoned to underlye the lawe upon Fridaye next. Divers of them are oute of the countrie, as my Lord of Morton, the Lord Ruthen, his sone, and Andrewe Car. The Lord of Lindesaye is either with my Lord of Argile, or within the Lord Athal's bounds, where also it is saide that my Lord of Liddington is,

Patrick Murray of Tibbere-moore; Tho. Scott, Under Sherif of Strettherne; Larde of Carmichell; Andrewe Conyngham, sone of the Erle of Glancarne; Mr. Andrewe Hays; Mr. Archibalde Duglas; George Duglas, uncle to the King; Alex. Ruthen, brother to the Lord Ruthen.

All these man of good livings, besides a number of other gentlemen.

Imprisoned—the Larde of Domlangricke, in Edenbourg Castle; the Larde of Wetherborne, in Donbar Castle; the Provoste of Glenecluden, sone to Doml. in the Blacknese.

The Erle of Lenox commanded from the courte.

of whom we here that he hathe accepted a charge from the Quene to enter himself prisoner in Envernes. He was participant of this laste counsell, discovered by the Kinge's selfe, as all the reste were that he knewe. Domlaneriche is in the castle of Edinbourg, a sone of his in the Blacknese, the Larde of Wetherborne, a Hume of good livinge, in Dombarre, of which now we heare that my Lord of Bothewell hathe the keeping, and is entred into all the lands that the Lord of Lidingeton had in possession. The parson of Flysk is made clerke of the regester: where hymself is we knowe not; his wyfe put owte of the howse, and it spoyled, given in prey to the soldiers. Who shall be secretarie we knowe not, but the Lord of Liddington having suche frendshipe with my Lord of Athal, is thoughte that he shall do well inoughe. The justice clerke rather suspected for his brother, than that he can be accused to have bene of this practyse, yet as we heare his office is given awaye. Divers of the towne, honeste men, committed to prison, and divers escaped. Besides her garde, she hathe three hundred soldiers in wages, which are payde by the towne, who fynde the burdayn greate, and extremitie suche, as under the Frenchemen their lives were never so sore.

The Quene hathe caused a bande to be made, and will that all men that are frends to anye of those that were privie to David's deathe shall subscribe to pursue them, and do their uttermoste to apprehende them and bring them to the place of justice. Some have subscribed, other have refused, and as we here that is the cause of the imprisonment of Domlaneriche and his sone, who came to the towne two dayes after the deathe of David.

Of the greate substance he had, there is muche spoken. Some saye in golde to the value of two thousand pounds sterling. His apparell was verie goode; as it is sayde, fourteen payre of velvet hose. His chamber well furnished: armour, daggs, pystoletts, harquebusses, twenty-two swords. Of all this nothinge spoiled, nor lacking, saving two or three daggs.

He had the custodie of all the Quene's letters, which all were delivered unlooked upon. We heare of a jewell that he had hanging aboute his necke of some price, that cannot be hearde of. He had upon his backe, when he was slayne, a nyghte gowne of Damaske furred, with a sattayne doublet, and hose of russet velvet.

Because you, Mr. Secretarie, in your letter of the 20th, required that you might be advertised by me, Randolphe, at good length with the circumstances of those things that were done at that tyme, and of the speeches betwene the Quene and them, your Honors shall receave all that hytherto we have hearde, having conferred the reports from abroode, which came to our knowledge, with the sayings of these noble-men, the Lord Morton and Lord Ruthen, that are present, and of them all that which we have founde neareste to the truthe, or as we believe, the truthe self, have here put them in wryting, not having at this tyme so muche care howe longe we trouble you with the reading, nor howe homely theie are put together, but wylling to our uttermoste power to informe you the truthe, leaving the judgement of the matter itself to your wysedomes. It may please your Honors farther to knowe, that there arrived here upon Mondaye laste the Earle of Morton, that came in by the weste borders, and with him George Duglas. His Lordship and my Lord Ruthen have bothe wrytten to your Honors, being advised thereunto by my Lord of Murraye, and mynd verie shortelie to make full declaration of their whole cause, howe it proceeded from the begynning to thys tyme of their arrival here. Besydes these which are here, not above ten or twelve persones, it is thought that other shortlye wyll repayre into the countrie, for that we heare that they are sharply pursued, their howses and goods possessed, and themselves very earnestly sought for. We have no farther at this tyme to wryte unto your Honors, saving we heare for certayne that the Earle of Lenox is commanded from the courte, in what sorte or whither yet we knowe not. We see no force intended by the subjects

towards their Sovereign, but a patient wyll to endure this fortune untill it please God to make it better. The Lord Ruthen is verie sick and keepeth moste his bedde.

Thus having longe troubled you, for the desyer we have in thyngs to satisfye you, though we had good wyll in some thyngs to have bene sparer, in speciall for the speaches betwene the Quene and her husbande, we tayke our leaves. At Barwicke, the 27th of Marche, 1566.

Your Honor's most assured,

F. BEDFORD.

THO. RANDOLPHE.

My Lord of Murraye by a speciall servante sent unto us desireth your Honors' favour to these noblemen, as his dere frends, and suche as for his sake hath given this adventeur.

CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, your letters last brought were of the 27th of March, for the which I thank you, because I see you have left your brawling with me, and as one even wearied therewith you have patiently offred to follow the Quene's Majestie's direction for coming or tarrying. To such God I see provideth remedy, for my brother Hobby was at Calliss on Monday last, so now your delyvery approacheth, as his journey will increase. The bearer herof, Mr. Thornton, not unknown to you, cometh about affayres meete for his creditt.

In Brabant* hath bene some appearance of troubles to follow, but I thynk, seing the King and the Regent affirme that they meant to have no inquisition, the nobilitie and people will be therewith satisfied, and lyve in some quietnes, though not without caution, and herof I think the Kyng will seke occasion to come into that countrey.

I pray you when you come by Pariss, if any books be newly sett out, of genealogyes or of armoryes, remember me; and I can but thank you.

* The troubles in the Netherlands were now beginning.

Mr. Vice-Chamberlain goeth into Irland to conferr with the Deputy about thyngs there out of tune.

The Erle Murray, Argyle, &c. of the first attempt are receaved to favor. Morton, Rythen, &c. for kylling of David, are yet in danger of forfaytur. 11th Aprilis, 1566.

Yours assured,

W. CECILL.

If ye shall send or shall come in tyme, I pray you helpe me to some sedes.

BISHOP OF MEATH* TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

I remayne, my singular good Lord, as unspotted of my promes towards your Lordship, neither will give place to any of your well willers in this land, more duetifullie to my abilitie to behave myselfe towardses you or yours, whatsoever forward report, which seldome saith well, hath said to the contrarie. If at any time my tong hath spoken, or my penne did write anything to the prejudice of your Honor, or violating of that I professed towardses you, having indifferent hearing, let me be condemned for an unconstant man, and never receaved to your favour agayne; if not, but rather my affection daily increasing with continuall prayer I might stand you or yours in any steade, why should it not greve me to see the rest here receive letters of some trust, but myselfe shutt out of dores, besides some talke holdeth had with me, whereby I might easilie gather your Lordship to have conceaved some mistrust. But I hope your good nature even of mere justice will either name the answeare together with the accusation, (if any be,) or else receiving this my purgation, bring me out of doubt, protesting before the Lord Jesus Christ, with the testimonie of my conscience, you are the nobleman in this world whom I most honour, and whom during my life I will serve

* Hugh Brady, the first Bishop of the See appointed by Elizabeth, after it had been vacant three years. He was elected in 1563, and died in 1583.

with all possible duety, requiring most humbly your good Lordship will bring me out of doubt of your favour towards me.

And now somewhat of our state here. On Munday next it is agreed the Lord Deputie, with the rest of the counsel, accompanied, as it is thought, with a nine hunderith or a thousand horses, &c. go to Dundalk,* and in some place of those borderes to meete O'Nele, his coming for aught I can see as uncertain as the place; but most certain if he comes, to be such a disordered cumming as I fear me neither will be profitable nor honourable; but therof as it shall fall oute, so will I, by God's grace, certifie your Lordship. Sundry great outrages are daylie by him committed, as of late in Macguier's cuntrie,† the other day in O'Donele's cuntry, putting to death most cruellye great number of men, and taking O'Donnelle's brother, but since putting him to deathe, spoyling also certain of Sir Nicholas Bagnolde's ‡ landes, with much more than I now thinke good to speake of. His tyranny joined with his pride is intollerable, dailie increasing in strength and credit, with admiration and feare of the Irishrie. The end whereof, (if I be not deceaved,) will touch the favourers, or rather winkeres, at his proceedings, and discharge some that simply hath told what end wold ensue of the same. And thus much of O'Nele.

O'Raiglis that now is, mett my Lord Deputie at Athboi, being on his progress, which he tooke in hand the first weke of Lent, and ended the same the Wednesday before Easter,

* The Lord Deputy (Sir Henry Sydney) did not go to Dundalk till the latter end of July, when O'Neil was up in arms.

† "Maguire, the Capten of Fermanaghe, hathe beene of late invaded by O'Neill, and totally expulsed owte of his countrey." Sir H. Sydney to Cecil, 9th June, 1566.—"O'Neill fortifyeth stronglie the castells wone of O'Donell and Maguire." Sir H. Sydney to Cecil, June 24, 1566.—*Sydney Papers*.

‡ Sir Nicholas Bagnoll was Marshall of Ireland during the government of Sir Henry Sydney.

§ O'Reilly was a near kinsman of Maguire, but a partisan of O'Neil.

where submitting himself to th'ordre of such commissioners as my Lord should appoynt, hath by the same commissioners awarded agaynst hym and his cuntry, as much (if I be not deceived) as all the Breni is worth, but never one groat awarded to him, although his chalenge against the Earle of Kyldare, the bastard, with the rest of the pale, unto eight or nine thousand kine, which will make him, I fear me, desperate, ready rather to rebell, than by losing all, to become with his a begger. For the manner of ordering his cuntry, he passeth all that went before him.

The O'Mores with Sleve Nugent are, after much harme done by them, now taken in, but of Terelle's seven hundereth kine not one restored. Some of the other Mores that were with Peres Grac are also come in, the rest be as it were haist loking what O'Nele will do.

Sir Warham Sentleger, * together with Baron Cusake and White, of Waterford, are in the west. Of their proceedings I can as yet say little.

The Earl of Desmond† hath married the Lord of Douboin's daughter; but why do I trouble your Lordship with such frivolous matter? The counsell there sent unto me by one Oliver Sutton a letter, willing me to say my knowledge concerning a certain booke exhibited by the said Oliver to her Majestie. I will, by Gode's help, say freely what I know, and yett I feare to small purpose if it be heard with a deafe eare. Being desirous to know somewhat in what tearmes your Lordship and the Lord Deputie‡ stood in, I presumed upon some sett occasion here had to enter thereof some talke, who, in the ende saide "Suerly, my Lord, I am sorry it is not,

* Sir Warham Saint Ledger was Lord President of Munster. Sir Henry Sydney says of him, at this time, "Doubtles, he is an honest and a sufficient man."—*Sydney Papers*.

† Gerald-Fitzgerald, the 16th Earl, who lost his life in rebellion, "Ingens rebellibus exemplar," married for his second wife Eleanor, daughter of Edmond, Lord Dunboyne, who shared with him his many escapes and privations.

‡ Sydney was a friend and partisan of Leicester.

and wish it were otherwise between us then it is ; but I trust it will be better, and in the meantyme I will deal with any shall appertain unto him in such sorte as the world shall see me void of affection, but rather do them the good I may." " Verily, my Lord," quoth I, " and so it shall beseme you right well to do," but yet I fear me poor Adam, if he be taken, goeth to the gibbet : he is already indited and laid for to be tried.

It is so, my Lord th'Archbishop of Dublin is sent for hence, I think through your Lordship's help, whereof my Lord Deputie told me, asking me if I wold have him write in my behalf. To whom after I had given thanks, I praid him he wold so do, which now he hath done to the Earl of Leicester and Mr. Secretarie. If ther be any let, it will be in Mr. Secretaire, who I feare hath receaved sad sinister report of me, and yet neither by word nor writing have I received any such knowledge, wherof I most humble beseech your Lordship, if any such be, to certify me of it, and not onely to remove the same, but also to preferr my suite begunn by Lord Deputie, which, if he had not offered, should onelie be laid upon your-selfe, and yet begunn by him, I know never will come to good effect unlesse it be by yourself. Even as I doubt not of your Lordship's favour herein, so I pray God increase your Honor. From Dublin, this 27th of April.

Your Lordship's most humble during life,

H. MIDEN.

I will very shortely write again, and then say somewhat of Ardnold.*

THOMAS WALDEGRAVE TO THOMAS CLOPTON.†

Sir, My brother and myself have gotten a tarsell sente for you of Sir Robert Gardiner. By reason of the warrs and

* Sir Nicholas Arnold, one of the Lords Justices of Ireland in 1563.

† Styled, in the superscription, " Of Kentwell, in Suffolk."

troubles of this lande, hawkes be very scarce, and not to be come by for money ; for those fewe which be, are in the handes of counselors and great persons. The late Earle of Terrone* is stronger then we, and now very lately, (since we cam out of the field,) there be fifteen hundred Scotts arrived out of Scotland to ayde him and his fellow rebells. I woulde willingly write unto you the number of the rebells, but that I love not to write uncertainties. I do not heare one man say that he can justly tell their forces : this is most certayne, that they be one thousand horse stronge, and as the wiser sort conjecture, not above four or five thousand foote, before they had this last supply of Scottes out of Scotland : so that now they be generally numbered six or seven thousand men ; and yet they never appeared to us all the last journey, I meane not within our viewe, above fifteen hundred, or two thousand at the most ; and that day we hadd the chasing of them foure or five good miles, but for wante of guides we cold never gett between them and their fastness, so that we took not above seven footmen and one horseman. One O'Hannlin, an Irish knight, (her Majestie's standard-bearer,) was shot in the ancle, who was our only guide to that place, which misfortune did save a number of their lives. We be now going into the field agayn.

Thus after my commendations to you and both my good sisters, and to all your little ones, I take my leave. From Dublin, this first day of August.

Your loving brother-in-law,

THOMAS WALDEGRAVE.

* Shane O'Neil, who had been raised to this title by the Queen on his last submission, but on his new rebellion had been deprived of it.

CAPTAIN ROGER BODENHAM TO MR. ANTHONY PENNE.*

What awayleth dilligens, labor, or pollice of man; if it be not directed by Gode's will, all is in vayne. It is moste certayne that man maye purpose, but God dothe dispose, as now it hathe pleased God to deale with me, and turne all my joye into sorow, in suche wise as withowt doubt, if he gave me not patyence to suffer it, I am not able to beare it.

I am certain ere this come to your handes, ye have hard of my great misfortune. I wolde have writen you of it long ere this, but that by no meanes I colde sett my penne to the paper, and now God knows how I do it, and with what payne, only because I will satisfye you how it paste.

The 29th daye of Julij, in the morning before daye, at the Cape Sanct Marye, being the coaste of Portingale, not paste twenty-five leagues from Sainct Livears or Cadix, whither I was bounde, even at home at my own doors, being calme withowt any breathe of wynd, I was besett with some gallies of Turks of Argell, and although the matche was too muche for me, being so fewe men as I hadde with me, yet I put myselfe in order, and I foughte with them in the morninge tyll none, in the which fyght manie of my men were slaine, and all the reste sore hurte, so that by no means we colde make anye farther defens, and so we wer all taken and stripped naked and put into the gallies, the shipp so beaten that I fear me she sanke, for after the Turks had taken owt of her what they wolde, they lefte her driving in the sea, with all her ordinans and takell; and allthoughe I have made much deligens in the searche of her, I cannot fynd her.

The next daye after I was taken, the Turks went to Cadix, and there made sale of certain Christians, to the number of a ten persons, among the which I was one,

* This letter gives us a curious picture of the state of Southern Europe, when the Christians were in danger of being taken by the Moorish Corsairs almost in our own seas.

and paid for my bodye seven hundred ducats, which a frend of myne layd owt for me, and howe I shall paye it agayn, God knows. All the rest he carryed away in sorowfull captivitie, and the greatest greef that I have of them is the small remedy that I fynd for their redemption; the worst of them will not be redemed with three hundred ducats. God sende the remedye! The daye before I was taken, the same Turks toke three shippes that came owt of th'Indias, with above three hundred thousand ducats, and many men, women, and children, and more in one company twenty-two shippes laden with the King's provisions, and more four Biskayne ships, and four hulks, that came owt of Flanders, with dyvers others. The lyke was never sene in these partes, nor hearde of, nor I think wil be agayn. This notwithstanding, if the shippe do come to my handes, as I hope she shall, if she be not sunke, if God be pleased I maye make a voyage with her, I dare saye that I will save the principall of all men's parts, but and she be gone, there is no remedye. Whether Water be alyve or dead, I knowe not. God helpe them all, for certainly how much this grieves me I am not able to expres. I praye you let me heare from you, and the Lorde sende you helthe. From Seville, the laste of Auguste, anno 1566.

By yours, the sorrowefull,

ROGER BODENHAM.

It was never sene nor hearde that the Turks did any such thing in these partes, wherfore all men were owt of doubt of any such matter, and did not mistruste anye suche thing. Here is many a heavy harte, for it hathe done muche harme in this citty, the taking of the three shippes that came owt of th'Indias, and dayly they loke for the flete to come from thense, and the Turks be here taryng for them.

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH* TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

It may please your good Lordship: I am presently come into England by license of my Lord Deputie and counsell, to

* Adam Loftus, consecrated to this see in 1562.

have some riddance, if it please God, of some dyseases that I am disposed unto. I had purposed first of all to have repayed to the courte, but the travell of the seas so encreased my diseases that I was constreyned for remedy sake to go to Cambridge, where I mynde to remayne untill I have perfectly recovered my healthe, or otherwise be directed by my Lords of the counsell, to whom my Lord Deputie hath written of the nedefulle cause of my coming hither.

Althoughe I doute not but your Lordship understandeth by others, the present state of Irland, which I thought it my dewtie somewhat to wryte to you concerning the same. O'Nele came to Carick Bradoghe, the 26th of July, with three thousand men, and my Lord Deputie understanding his repayre thither in warlike sorte, assembled the whole force of the English pale, and came to Dundalk * the 29th of July, with a very great force of fotemen and six hundred horse, and there messengers passed betweene them, but O'Nele utterlie refused to be subjected to the Quene's Majestie, unless Maguier were presently delyvered unto hym. My Lorde Deputy continued there two dayes in the field, during which tyme there was some skyrming between them; but I herde not of any hurte of either syde. My Lord Deputy with the army departed for want of victualles. A daye or two after, O'Nele invaded the Englishe pale, and burned the Haggard, and the moste parte of the townes beyond Cassinge Water, (I meane of the northe syde.) He lykewise assaulted Dundalk, which was garded by John Fitzwilliams and the rest of Mr. Bryan's soldiers, which so valiantly defended the towne, that he loste three ensignes, seventeen of his men, and a great nomber died at his coming into the campe. He practised with the Scottes, and offered them Clandeboy, all the whole kyne in his countrey, the delyvery of Surleboy, but all in vain. The day before I

* See Sir Henry Sydney's own account of this affair in the Sydney Papers, vol. i. p. 15, which agrees closely with this narrative of the Archbishop of Armagh.

tooke shippe it was reported (and I thinke very true), that he encamped in Betaghesh cuntry, and there encountred with my Lord of Delvin,* and the gentlemen of Westmethesh, and kyllled certayne gentlemen of the Tutes and other of the beste there. †

Th'erle of Chanrycard and McWilliam Enter, repayred to my Lord Deputie and counsell at Dublin, and the griefes between them were appeased, frendshippe compounded, and pledges put in on both sydes.

Th'erle of Desmonde hath invaded and greatly spoyled the Lord Fitzmoris' cuntry, and now remaynes in Kerry in campe, with two thousand men. His obedience and good meaning is dowed of ‡

* Sir Christopher Nugent, 9th Baron of Delvin, who "expressed such forwardness and fidelity in the service of the crown, that in 1567, articles were made with his Lordship by the Queen, authorizing him to extirpate the O'Mores, sons of Ferrasse MacRosse and their followers; whereby it was ordered, that he should serve in person, and have the leading of 150 kerne, 10 horsemen and 50 boys of his own choice, and should intend the prosecution of that service, in all places within the English pale or elsewhere as it should seem to him expedient, for the advancing therein of her Majesty's honour, reducing of quiet to her good subjects, and the utter extirpation of the aforesaid rebels."—*Lodge's Irish Peerage, by Archdall, i. 234.*

† The English seem to have been more successful in their practices with the Scots, and O'Neale failed in his hope of obtaining their alliance. He was chased from place to place, and reduced by the Lord President to such extremity, that he was on the point of throwing himself at his feet with a halter about his neck, but was persuaded by one of his attendants to make a last attempt on the Scots. The latter, who owed him a deep grudge, pretended to embrace his advances, invited him to a feast, where they treacherously murdered him and his companions, and sent his head to Dublin. Such was the bloody and not unmerited end of this most turbulent and faithless chieftian.

‡ The Lord Deputy Sudney, in his narrative of his progress in 1567, gives us a most mournful picture of the state to which the country was reduced by the quarrels of these turbulent chieftains. — "Having travailed," he says, "from Youghall to Cork, from Cork to Kinsale, and from thence to the uttermost boundes of it towards Limerick, like

The Lord God give your Lordship suche successe in all your affaires as your good heart can wish, and perfect knowledge of your frendes from the contrary, and then good regarde to use them accordingly.

From Hethfelde, the thyrde of September, 1566.

Your good Lordship's at commandment,

AD. ARMACHAN.

If it please your Lordship to wryte to me a lyne or two, this bearer presently returneth.

as I never was in a more pleasaunt countrey in all my life, so never sawe I a more waste and desolate lande, no, not in the confynes of other countries, where actuall warre hath contynuallie ben kepte by the greatest princes of Christendome. And there herde I suche lamentable cryes and dolefull complayntes, made by that small remayne of poor people which yet are lefte, who hardelie escaping the furie of the sworde and fire of their outeragious neighbours, or the famyn with the same, which their extorcious lordes hath driven them unto, either by taking their goodes from them, or by spending the same, by their extorte taking of coyne and liveries, make demonstration of the miserable estate of that countrie. Besides this, suche horrible and lamentable spectacles there are to beholde, as the burning of villages, the ruyn of churches, the wastinge of suche as have ben good townes and castels, yea, the view of the bones and sculles of the ded subjectes, who, partelie by murder, partelie by famyn, have died in the feelds, as in troth hardelie any christian with drie eies could beholde." And a little further on: "From thence I traveled thoroughe a greate and aunciente towne in Connoghe, called Anrye, where I was offered a pytyfull and lamentable presente, namelie, the keyes of the towne, not as to receive them of me agayne, as all other accustomed doe, but for me still to kepe, or otherwise dispose at my pleasure, inasmuche as they were so impoverisshed, by the extortion of the lordes aboute them, as they were no longer able to kepe that towne. The towne is large and well walled, and it appereth by matter of record there hath ben in it three hundred good howseholders, and since I knewe this lande there was twentie, and nowe I finde but fower, and they poor, and, as I write, readie to leave the place. The crye and lamentation of the poore people was greate and pityfull, and nothings but thus, succor! succor! succor!"—*Sydney Papers*.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO SIR HENRY SYDNEY.

BY THE QUEENE.

Right trusty and well-beloved, we grete you well. There are two things come to our memory sithens the writing and closing up of our other letter, wherof we think meet to remember you. The first is, that we think it not for our honour, but rather to th'increase of th'obstinate audacite of Shane O'Neyle, to have you renew any treatie with him. And therfor we wish rather all other good meane wer thought uppon to stay him or rather diminish his wicked rebellious attempts. The second is, we find it straunge that Thomas Stukley* shuld be used there in any service in such credit as we perceve he is, considering the generall discredit wherin he remayneth not only in our own realm, but also in other countrees for such matters as he hath ben chardged withall: wherunto also he yet remayneth by bond with sureties aunswerable in our Court of the Admiraltie, according as of late upon supplication of his sureties, we wrote to you that he should return home to answer in our said Court. Of these things being newly come to our mynd sithens the depech of our former letter, we thought briefly to make this short letter. Given under our signet, at our Manour of

* Not long after the date of this letter, we still find Stukeley in Ireland. "Here hath ben lately exhibited unto us a complaint," saith the Queen in a dispatch to Sir Henry Sydney, July 6, 1567, from the Kingsborough collection, "by certen subjects of our brother the King of Spayne, inhabitants of the Low Contreys, against Edward Cooke of Southampton, a pyrat, who they alledge invaded them by sea, and took their goods, being hydes and skyns brought from the Inds, and a greate some of money, and carying the same into Irland, have made sale to Stewkley therof, which they requyre to be redressed. And so if it be true that Stewkley hath bought any part therof, we charge you to give streight order that the same goods be furthcoming to be answered where justice shall lymit. And surely we marvell that Stewkley wold have such boldnes as to deale with pyrates or with their prises."

Grenewich, the last day of March, 1567, the eight yere of our reign.*

MR. MAN† TO CECIL.

(15 Maij. 1567.)

He wrote to him in his last letter of the Duke of Alva's going by the coast from Carthagenas to Rosas ; he lost one galleon laden with horses and passengers, which ventured too farr abroad, and so taken by the Moores. He was sorye that his letters arrived no sooner, wherein he commanded him to open unto the King the Quene's determination in demanding of Callice ; he had but three daies before audience and conference with the King, durst therefore not now speake to him, unlesse he would seem to be importunate, and indeed the King withdrew himselfe into his monasterie to be secret these fifteen daies. He will staie for his further instructions and letters. Upon Maie daie there was a triumphe of justes there, eight challenging other eight, but more gaye than good, whereunto the ambassador of France and he were invited, and placed next under the King. Two daies after the ambassadour of France visited him, and told him, that he had advertise-ment from the French courte, that there were looked for certaine commissioners from England to demande Callice.‡ He

* Indorsed as being received on the 17th of April.

† John Man, Dean of Gloucester. In a former letter of Cecil's (p. 185), we have seen that on the return of Sir Thomas Chaloner, the English government thought an ambassador at Madrid a mere matter of form. It seems to have been with this feeling that the Queen sent them Man, a person of very small abilities, and she herself is said to have punned upon his mission, saying, that as the Spaniard had sent her a *goose-man*, (Guzman,) she could not return the compliment better than sending *Man* who was a *goose*. This article and the following are abstracts of letters.

‡ The time was now come when, by the treaty of Câteau Cambresis, the town of Calais ought to be delivered to the English. Sir

answered that he doubted not, but that they should be well used there, and also well answered, for that the daie was past, and no excuse why they should not restore it accordingly. The French ambassador said to him againe, he might well assure himselfe his master would not depart with it, for that it is the peece, wherefore have risen often debates and warres, now, being recovered, concord would be betwixt France and England. He told him againe, that he mistrusted not but the King and counsell there would stand unto their promises they had made, and bound themselves, and more he could not saie yet. The ambassador replied againe, that the commonaltie of France be so bent to keepe Callice; that although the King would performe and render it, they would not suffer him. There is no likelihood of the King's departure into Flanders before Michaelmasse. He understood out of his letters the Counte Arundel's arryval and good receiving into England, whereof he is verie glad. The Conte de Feria presumed to have a great nomber in England at his command. A Spanyard sitting at his table said, that the Counte de Feria being in England, was so beloved, that in case he would, he might have made himselfe King of England. Which, although it be an untruth, yet it argueth a confidence the Spanyards have of some great parte the Conte is yet able to make in England. To some like effect the am-

Henry Norris had been sent as ambassador to France in the February of the present year, and in March he was followed by Sir Thomas Smith, who went to Calais on the 3d of April. "He demanded Calais first at the gates of the town next the sea, in a loud voice in French, by the sound of a trumpet, of which an act was presently made by a public notary, to which were witnesses certain outlandish merchants, and others there happily present. And next coming to the French King, he demanded Calais again, together with Sir Henry Norris, the other ambassador. The King remitted the matter to his council, where Hospital, his chancellor, and our Smith, argued the point largely and learnedly on both sides." *Strype*. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the demand of the English ambassadors was evaded by various quibbles, and that Calais was never given up.

bassadour of Portugall spoke to him, that he doubted not, but at the Kinge of Spaine's coming into Flanders, if it shall please his Majestie to sett up a pendon in England, he should have the greatest parte of the realme to followe him at his devotion. This is their opinion of the people of England.* Since the Duke of Alva's departure thence, he negotiated most with Don Antonio di Toledo, whom he findeth verie willing to do him anie pleasure he can. He meaneth not to deale anie further with the Conte de Feria. Sir Francys Inglefyld† departed thence to the Countesse de Feria; he is in some despaire of recoverie of his living out of England. The Marques of Burgos is at the poynt of death.

MR. MAN TO THE COUNCIL.

(13 Jun. 1567.)

He declared unto the Conte de Feria their Lordship's and the whole nobilitie of England's griefe, touching his evill dealing with the Earle of Arundell. He answered him verie brieflie, that it was a case of his wife wherein he had dealt, and not generall, and that his doings therein being uprightlie judged, ought not to be so evill taken, for that in anie realme a particular stranger may as his occasion serveth challenge anie subject of that realme, whereof he is not borne himself, adding with great coller he had bene and was as good a servant unto the Queen's Majestie as the Earle of

* There can be little doubt, by all these vain boasts, that the King of Spain intended to make a descent in England, which was to be connected with a rebellion of the popish party. His agents had been busy at work, though not so successfully as he seems to have supposed. There is every reason for thinking that the Queen of Scots was well acquainted with this design; and the ill-concerted northern rebellion of 1569, was one of the effects of the Spanish intrigues.

† Sir Francis Englefield had been one of Queen Mary's privy council, had taken refuge in Flanders after the accession of Elizabeth, and had been taken into the pay of Spain.

Arundell*, or anie other. And this was his whole answer in effect. Touching the latter part of their letter, Burlace, as he understandeth, is at Mylan, but in case he shall thither, or he chance to see him, he will not faile to accomplish the Queen's and their commandement.

SIR NICHOLAS THROGMORTON† TO CECIL.

Sir, according as I did wryte unto you yesterdaye, I passed by the French ambassadour this daye, whom I founde at cardes with Monsieur de Villeroye. He moved unto me, that it might please the Quene's Majestie, that her mynister might concur with suche one as the Frenche Kinge should sende into

* Henry Fitz-Alan, tenth and last Earl of Arundel, of that family, a nobleman who had acted a prominent part in the public transactions of the three preceding reigns. He must have been abroad at this time, on his travels.

† The Queen of Scots having after the murder of her husband, and marriage with Bothwell, been taken by the lords, was now in the castle of Lochleven. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was sent to negotiate between the Lords and Mary, and to obtain, if possible, the liberty of the latter. Our correspondence on the affairs of Scotland since the murder of Rizzio, is not very full. Randolph had been for some time put under restraint, and therefore his dispatches discontinued. He had been afterwards recalled.

After the murder of Rizzio, events had followed each other in Scotland in quick succession. On the 19th of June, 1566, was born James VI., afterwards James I. of England. On the 10th of February following, his father and Mary's husband, Darnley, was murdered, without doubt, by her connivance. On the 24th of April was acted the tragi-comedy of her rape, by Bothwell. On the 12th of May she created him Marquis of Fife, and Duke of Orkney; and on the 15th of the same month she married him, who was universally pointed out as the murderer of her husband. On the 11th of June they were besieged by the Lords in Borthwick. On the 15th she was taken prisoner at Carberry-hills, and the next day she was conveyed to Lochleven.

Scotlande to procure the Quene's libertie, for that is the onelie marke I perceyve they shoote at.

And by howe muche they desire that matter to proceede first without anie other conditions, by so muche the more me thinketh her Majestie ought to qualifie her affection to bringe that to effecte, untill justice be done of the offenders, and suerty provided for the Lordes: with suche other things as shal be agreable to the Quene's Majestie's purpose. I fynde they take it yll, that Monsieur de Villeroye was denyed audyence. Me thought by some wordes that the ambassador lett slippe, either Monsieur de Crocke were lyke enough to be stayed in Scotland uppon my going, or he is lyke enoughe to be returned thither agayne upon his arryval at London. I shewed them that the Quene's Majestie did send me into Scotland to comforte the Quene in this her calamity; and to procure her lyberty, which her Majestie did take for too great an indignity to be shewed to a Quene by her subjectes. I said that I looked for no better acceptation than Monsieur de Villeroye had amongst the Lords, and to be denyed to have accesse to the Quene. They seemed to make no doubte of liberty to be given unto me to speake with her: I shewed them that in case they would refuse me to have accesse, I mynded to addresse myselfe to the Hambleton's, and that partie which minded to set their Soveraigne at libertie, as the thing that the Quene my mistris chieflie sought, though her Majestie could well allowe that justice shoulde be done of the murderers. Thys muche I have thought meete to advertize you, to th' ende her Majestie and you may use the like speche unto them to morrowe at their audyence, if it so stand with her Majestie's pleasur and your likynge: for I thought not good to appeare anie other man unto the Frenche, or that her Majestie had any other designmente. There passed a packette by the way this afternoone, which I did not see: and therefore it maye please you by your next to let me knowe what is chaunced in Scotland since the 27th of the last, which were the letters that I sent

you yesterday. Thus I do humbly take my leave of you At Ware,* this seconde of July, 1567.

Yours to use and commande.

THROGMORTON TO CECIL.

Sir, as you might perceave by my letters of the 11th of July, I lodged at Fascastle that night,† accompanied with the Lorde Hume, the Lorde of Ledington, and James Melvin, where I was intreted very well accordinge to the state of the place ; which is fitter to lodge prisoners then folks at lyberty. As it is very little, so it is very stronge. By the conference I have had with the Lorde of Ledington, I do fynde the Lords his associats and he hath left nothing unthought of which maye be eyther to theyr danger or worke them suertye : wherin they do not forgett what good and harme Fraunce may do them ; and lykewise they consyder the same of England. But, as farre as I can perceave, to be playne with you, they fynde more peryll to growe unto them through the Quene's Majestie's dealing, then eyther they do by the Frenche or by any contrarye faction emongst themselffs. For they assure themselffs the Quene wyll leave them in the bryars, if they runne her fortune. And though they do acknowledge greate benefit, as well to them as to the realme of Englande, by her Majestie's doings at Lethe (wherof they saye mutually her Majestie and both the realmes have receaved great fruit) ; yet, upon other accidents which have chanced sithens, they have observed suche things in her Majestie's doings, as have tended to the danger of suche as she hath dealt withall, to the overthrowe of your owne dessignments, and lyttle to

* He was on his way to Scotland.

† A strong hold of Lord Hume, which stood on a little promontary, a few miles north of Coldingham.

the suerty of any partye. And upon these considerations and discourses, at length me thinketh I fynd a disposition in them, that either they mynde to make their bargeine with Fraunce, or els to deale neyther with France nor you, but to do what they shall thinke mete for theyr state and suerty, and to use theyr remedies as occasion shall move them, meaning neyther to irritate Fraunce nor Englande untill suche tyme as they have made theyr bargin assurydly with one of you. For they thinke it convenyent to proceade with you both for a whyle *pari passu*, for that was my Lorde of Ledington's terme.

I do perceave, they take the matter very unkyndly, that no better answer is made to the letter which the Lords did sende to her Majestie: and likewise that they heare nothinge from you to theyr satisfaction. I have answeyrd as well as I can, and have alledged theyr owne proceedings so obscurely with the Quene, and theyr uncertenty, hath occasionyd this that is yet happened: and therefore her Majestie hathe sent me, to th'ende I may enforme her thoroughly of the state of the matter, and upon the declaration of theyr myndes and intents to such purposes as shall be by me proposed on her Majestie's behalfe unto them, they shall be reasonably and resolutely answered. At these thinges the Lorde of Ledington smyled, and shoke his head; and sayd, "It were better for us, you wolde let us alone, then neither to do us nor yourselffs good, as I feare me in the end it will prove."

Sir, if there be any truthe in Ledington, La Crocq is gone to procure Ramboillet's coming hither, or a man of lyke quality, and to delyver them of theyr Quene for ever: who shall leade hyr life in Fraunce, in an abbey reclused: * the

* Elizabeth has been accused of inviting the Queen of Scots to seek refuge in England. The following is an extract from a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Throgmorton, dated July 20, 1567, in the State Paper Office:—

"As to the last matter in your letter which we perceve you have understand by some secret meanes, that some of that counsell which

Prince at the Frenche devotion: the realme governed by a councell of theyr election, as the Scottishe nation: the forts commytted to the custodye of suche as shall be chosen amongst themselffs. As yet I fynde no great lykelihode that I shall have accesse to the Quene: it is objected they may not so displease the Frenche Kynge unlesse they were sure to fynde the Quene of Englande a good frend: and when they have once, by my accesse to the Quene, offended the Frenche, then they saye you wyll make your profitt therof to theyr undoing. And as to the Quene's liberty, which was the first head that I proposed, they sayd, that therby they did perceave that the Quene meant theyr undoing, for as for the rest of the matters, yt was but folly to talke of them, the lyberty going before: "but," sayd they, "if you wyll do us no good, do us no harme, and we wyll provide for ourselffs." In the ende they sayd we shoulde refuse our owne commoditie before they concluded with any other, which I shoulde heare of at my coming to Edinburghe.

By my next I hope to send you the bande concluded by the Hambletons, Argyle, Huntlye, and that faction, not so muche to the prejudice of the Lords at Edenburgh as that which was sent into Fraunce. Thus having no more leysure, but compellyd to leape on horsebacke with these Lords to

favour the Queen thinke her best ende shuld be to come into this realme, and to commit the government to some there, wherof also you think the Queen herself very disyrrous herselfe to have it brought to passe, we cannot presently resolve of any certeyn answer thereto; but wishe you (if it be moved unto you by the Quene herselfe or any other from her) to answer that you will therof advertise us; and so wold we have you do: at which tyme we shall gyve you a more direct answer, for we fynde her removng either into this our realme or into France, not without great discommodities to us, and yet the difficultyes therof grow upon divers respects, as we doubt not but you can well consider.

Thus much for things conteyned in your letter requyring our answer."

go to Edenburghe, I humbly take my leave of you. From Fascastle, the 12th of Julye, 1567.

MR. JENYE TO CECIL.

It maie please you, right honourable Sir, that my Lorde of Murraye, fynding himselffe in some discontentment by his longe delayes of the Frenche Kinge, as also in hazard of detayning by force, beside some perill of his person by suche as have grutcht muche his affection towardes England, requyred my Lorde my master to assist hym by some policie to escape secretlye out of Fraunce. Whereupon I was depeched towards Deepe to staie some Englishe bark under some colour, for my Lord of Murraie will passe in no Frenche-man, and if I found not an Englishman there, to hast over thither to Rye to provide hym with all diligence, where I am arrived this afternoone at foure of the clocke, and meane as soone as tide and wynde serves, God willing, to repaire towards Depe agayne, where a messenger attends my arrivall to give knowledge to my Lord of Murraie at the court, whereby he may under an assurance of his vessell determine and aventure his purpose.

The prince of Condye's sodaine departure from the courte, bothe with muche difficultie and muche myscontentment, as also other emulation in courte and differences other where, which promyseth some new garboyle, is one particular of the mystrust my Lord of Murraye hath of hymselffe, beside other causes with the rest, which I have by word of mouthe to advertize your honour of at my arrivall with you, which shall be, God willing, so soone as I have landed my Lord of Murraye in what part of Englande soever it be.

Thus in hast I humblie take my leave of your honour. From Rye, this 13th of Julie.

THROGMORTON TO CECIL.

Sir, me thinketh these Lordes be on the way to make an end of theyr matters with theyr Soveraigne amongst themselves, albeyt they keepe bothe the Frenche and us in hand, for they cannot tell how to be rid of theyr Quene (whych I mystruste they intend one way or other) without the consent of the Frenche; takyng them to be better inclyned to serve theyr humors than we; and fyndyng they wyll thys course, (notwithstanding any threatenyngs of any Prynce,) I muste take hede we lose them not wholly, and dryve them to be more French than they wold be, throughe the Quene's Majestie's sharpe empugning theyr designes. It wer well don to make a virtue of necessitye, unles her Majestie woll use armes ageynste them. And I see no happie end destyned unto us in those matters. To be playne with you, I fear the end, bothe for God's dyspleasure and for some unaptnes amongst ourselves to enter and prosecute the warr.

To understand what hath passed synce my laste dyspatche of the 14th of July, I do referre you to her Majestie's letter sent now; and so do humbly take my leave of you.

At Edynboroughe, the 15th of July, 1567.

Yours to use and command.

As yet these Lordes wyll not suffer Mr. N. Elveston, sent from my Lord of Murrey, to have access to the Quene, nor to send my Lord of Murrey's letter unto her.

 THROGMORTON TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD.*

My Lorde, I think you see and fynde daylie newe occasions to give you cause to seke from above the remedye of the disorders committed upon the borders: and my advice to your Lordship shal be, that you follow and procure the

* The Earl of Bedford was lieutenant of the borders.

same with all spede you can. For I perceave and fynde here, that they be shrewdly bent that way ; and do meane to do unto you all the displeasure they can, so sone as they fynde that the Quene's Majestie, our mistrys, shall not favour them in these their present actions. As unto the late offence done upon your border, I can assure your Lordship, it was not by anye knowledge from these Lords, but only by Fernehest and his followers, at the sollicitation of Bothwell* and hys frends : for your frends here be sorye for it, and wyll not lett to gyve you some warninge before they breake with you, if the same may be done by any convenyent meanes. In the meane tyme, my Lord, travayle for some order from above : for, I promise you, it is highe tyme.

And touching myselffe, and my being here, I must confesse to your Lordship, I never was in so busy and dangerous a legation in my lyffe ; not knowing almost which way to turne me.

These Lords have not yet given me any audience ; excus-

* When Mary was taken, Bothwell escaped, and at first tried to raise a party among the turbulent clans against the Lords, but finding his exertions fruitless, he fled to the Orkneys, and became a pirate. His end is thus told by Sir James Melvil.

“Now the Laird of Grange, his two ships being in readinesse, he made sail towards Orkney, and no man was so frank to accompany him as the laird of Tullibardin, and Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney. But the Earl (Bothwell) was fled from Orkney to Sheatland, whither also they followed him, and came in sight of Bothwell's ship, which moved the laird of Grange to cause the skippers to hoise up all the sails, which they were loath to do, because they knew the shallow water thereabout. But Grange, fearing to miss him, compelled the marriners, so that for too great haste the ship wherein Grange was, did break upon a bed of sand, without loss of a man, but Bothwell had leasure in the mean time to save himself in a little boat, leaving his ship behind him, which Grange took, and therein the laird of Tallow, John Hepburn of Bantoun, Dalgleesh, and divers others of the Earl's servants. Himself fled to Denmark, where he was taken, and kept in strait prison, wherein he became mad and dyed miserably.”

ing the same by the absence of th'Earles of Marre and Glen-carne, the Lord Simple, and others of theyr bande, saying they dare not take upon them the hearing and the answering of so mightie matters, without the presence of the whole companye; but I take it, rather to be used towards me for delaye then otherwyse, not being in any sort willing that I shall speake with theyr Quene. Notwithstanding I have earnestly pressed the same and have wonne one of the wysest amongst them to my desyre therin; but no otherwise than that he dare not yet be acknowen to the rest of the same: such is theyr difficultie in this matter. What hereafter maye come from them I know not; my perplexity is the more, when I remember these men's desyres here, and our humors at home: and therof breedeth my greatest doubte of any good to be done for us in this tyme.

I have been wrytten unto by the other syde, as namely, by the Hambletons, the Earle of Argyle, by the Master of Maxwell, and others; and I do beare them all fayre in hande; to th'ende I maye the better be able to discover theyr meanings and designs: although I must tell you truly, I lyke nothinge of theyr doings.

The Quene is in great danger, by reason of the great rage and fury of the people against her.* Th'Earle Bothwell is thought to be in the north partyes with the Earle of Huntleye

* Mary was at this time anything but popular in Scotland. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated July 18, 1567, (preserved in the State Paper Office,) says:—"And though these Lordes and Counsellours speake reverently, myldely, and charitably of theyre Quene, so as I cannot gather by theyre speeche any intention to cruelty or vyolence; yet I do fynde by intellygence, that the Quene is in very great peryll of her lyfe, by reason that the people assembled at thys convention do mynde vehemently the destruction of her.

"It is a publyke speeche amongst all the people, and amongst all the estates (saving the counsellors), that theyre Quene hath no more liberty nor pryviledge to commyt murder, nor adulterye, than any other private person, neyther by God's lawe, nor by the laws of the realme."

and others, to make the best partye he can. The assembly contynueth the 20th day of thys monethe: where I thynke lytle wyl be done to the Quene of Scotlande's advantage. I do humbly pray your Lordship, dyspatche thys pacquet with great dylygence to Mr. Secretary. Thus I do humbly take my leave of your good Lordship. At Edenborowghe, thys 20 Julye, 1567.

These men have here in pay fowre hundred and fyftie harquebusshyers, in convenient order.

SIR HENRY NORRIS* TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

It may please your Majestie, the 17th of July, the Duke of Chastillerault came to this towne, and the day following went to the courte, accompanied with the Scottish ambassador, who I perceyve is not so muche a Hamelton in bloud, as French in devotion; and by them wholly employed, in all these matters of Scotlande, to perswade and winne such to them as may in any way stande them in steade.

The Duke being there, the Kinge declared unto him the miserye which his countrey was presently in, by the captivitie of the Quene and disobedience of her subjects; which, he sayd, was now high tyme to be looked into and remedied; and, therefore, as one that meant not to forsake her in extremity, he would neyther spare cost nor any thing els to sette her at libertie, and to restore her to her absolute authoritie; so as he, the sayd Duke, and others which had power and creditte at home, would also mynde the matter, and joyne together therin. The Duke made answer, that, lyke as he had always borne a faithfull harte towards his prince and coun-

* Sir Henry Norris, afterwards created Lord Norris of Rycot, in Oxfordshire, who married the daughter of Lord Williams of Thame, by whom he had six sons, all of them highly distinguished men. He died in 1601. He was now ambassador in France.

trey, and for the service therof adventured his life, as it was well knowen, at Pinkey and other places; so was he still ready to hazarde the same, with all the frends he could make, and to redress his soveraigne's cause. The Kinge thanked hym for it, and sayd the necessitie of the cause would require no delay; and therefore his advise was, that he shoulde hasten himselfe home, where his presence might do muche good; adding further, that, by the faythe of a prince, he woulde ayde them all to the uttermoste of his power. "And though," sayd he, "the Quene of Englande do make fayre semblaunse in this matter, yet do I not greatly truste her, for I have discovered of late that she dothe secretly practise with the Lordes to worke her owne commoditie, as the sending thither of Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, and certayne money, dothe well declare. But," sayd he, "it shall cost her dear as any thing that ever she tooke in hande."

The Duke began to declare to the Kinge, how affectionate he and all his house had been, next the Quene his soveraigne, to the crown of Fraunce, of whom he had received many benefits, having the honour to be one of the eldest knights of the Kinge's order, and by his predecessors made duke of Chastil-lerault, although he was now (he knew not for what cause) dispossessed therof: and theruppon woulde fayne have gone further touching his dukedome, but that the Frenche (desyring not to here on that syde) cut it shorte, and offered other talke. Wherin Monsr. de Martiguz, standing by, sette in a foote: saying to the Kinge, that if he woulde gyve him but three thousande harquebuziers, payd for three moneths, he durst take upon him to set the Quene at libertye, in despite of her owne subjects, or any other that woulde take their parte, or els he woulde never returne agayne into Fraunce. The Kinge gave him thanks for his offer, but the Quene-mother sayde, it was more tyme for him to returne to his government, and do good justice, than to talke of suche matters, when they had irons enow in the fyre; which the connestable also confirmed, say-

ing “Ho! ho! is it nowe tyme to enter agayne into those matters?”

By this your Majestie may perceyve, that notwithstanding their great braggs, (which are gyven forth for the nones, to astonishe your Majestie, and to keepe you from dealing therin,) they would fayne serve their turnes with wordes and promises, if they might, being not well able to departe with more, althoughe they vaunte the contrary, and say they will send thither out of hande two thousand harquebuziers. The Quene-mother, I knowe, loves not the Quene of Scotland: and, but that she feareth to be prevented by your Majestie, either in curtesye or otherwise, nowe in this tyme of her neede, she woulde lette her trye it by the teethe, for any greate devotion she hathe to procure her libertye. I would to God, therefore, it might please your Majestie to deale roundely therin, and to make your proffit so as the Frenche may be disappointed of their purpose; the honour and surety wherof must needes be greate, bothe to yourselfe and to the realme.

The Duke of Chastillerault, having promised to runne the Frenche course, and to carry with him as many as he may, had sent him from the Kinge, the 22nd of July, a fayre present of plate, esteemed three tymes the vallue of that was given the Earle of Murrey; which, as I have learned since, was worth but a thousande franks. It is reported, the sayd Duke shall take his jorney homewards very shortly: but whether he dothe passe throughe Englande or no, is yet doubted. Some say he shall, and that the Kinge will write unto your Majestie for his safe passage; others say agayne he shall go by the longe seas, and conducte some force with him.

The Kinge is gone to Villers Costretz, from whence some thinke he will returne back agayne, and not go to Compeigne. But I believe rather he will, and so farther towards Callais, if some suddaine occasion alter not his purpose.

The Kinge of Spayne's army, ledde by the Duke of Alva, hathe already passed through the Franche Conté and Lorrayne,

between Metz, Thou, and Verdun : so as it is thought by this they are come to Luxembourg. The Kinge of Spayne himselfe will followe by the latter end of September, as it is certainly reported, with the Prince his sonne: who shall be marryed, at his coming into Flanders, to the Emperors eldest daughter.

The Cardinall of Lorrayne and all the rest of his house are at Nantueil, fourteen leagues from this towne: being minded to be at the courte, when the Kinge cometh to Compeigne: where is lyke to be a great assemblye. Thus, having no other matter at this tyme worthy your Majestie's advertisement, I ceasse to trouble you any farther: beseeching Almighty God to prosper you, in helthe, honour, and felicitie.

From Paris, the 23rd of July, 1567.

THROGMORTON TO CECIL.

Sir, according to her Majestie's order in your letter of the last of Julye, I have expected newe order from thence; and have abstayned from all negotiation with these Lords, save with suche as you shall perceave I treated with by her Majestie's letter sent at this time. I do perceive by the Lorde of Ledington, they coulde be as well contented, that I were hence, as I desyre it; and surely they see through into your doings, and do understande such thinges and speeches as I could have wyshed had never come to their knowledge. The sayde Lorde of Ledington sayde unto me the night before the dispatche hereof, "It is to no purpose for you to tarye here: you may make matters worse then they be: for we may not satisfie the Quene your mistres' affections unless we shoulde caste our Kynge and contrey and our selfes awaye: and she wyll do nothing that can be plausible to us. So as the least harme (nay," sayd he, "we will take it for a piece of good,) wyll be for her Majestie to lett us alone, and neyther to do us good nor harme: and peradventure thys will bring forthe

better successe then anye other course. For now we begin to holde all things suspected that cometh from you; and if you be over busie with us, you wyll dryve us faster to Fraunce then we have desyre to runne."

They have utterly refusyd me accesse to the Quene; and I believe Lynerolls shall spede no better, if he have commission to press it. They shewe themselfs resolved, howsoever theyr actions be esteemed abroad; and so muche the more they be carelesse, because they knowe there is no partye here to be made against them, and for that suche as laye aloofe do now seke to concurre with them. He sayeth there be some amongst them which can be contented to entertayne practize with any forayne Prince, and get some money from them. But as for shedding of bloode, or stroke striking amongst themselfs, they wyll never come to it by any practise of any forayne prince. "And, my Lord Ambassador," sayd he, "we knowe all the good purposes which have passed betwixt you, the Hambletons, the Earles of Argyle and Huntleye, since your coming into this contreye." Now, sir, to tell you my owne opinion, I see no great purpose of my tarying here any lenger: for whatsomever you intende to treat with these men hereafter, it were good there were some pause used, to suffer them to chawe upon theyr own brydells. Thus, having nothinge els worthy lenger troubling of you, I do humbly take my leave of you, and do praye you to cause my letter herewith inclosed to be sent to my wyffe. At Edinburghe, the 9th of August, 1567.

THROGMORTON TO CECIL.

Sir, what I have learned since the arryvall of my Lorde of Murrey and Mons. de Lynneroll, you shall understand by my letter to her Majestie at thys tyme. The French do in theyr negotiations as they do in theyr drynke, put water to

theyr wyne. As I am able to see into theyr doings, they take it not greatlye to the heart, how the Quene spede; whether she lyve or dye, whether she be at lyberty or in prison. The marke they shote at is to renewe theyr old league; and can be as well contented to take of this lyttel Kinge, (howsoever his tytle be,) and the same by the order of these Lords, as otherwise. Lyneroll came but yesterday; and me thinketh he will not tarry longe. You maye gesse how the Frenche wyll seke to dysplease these Lords, when they changed the coming of La Chappelle des Oursins for this man, because they doubted, that de la Chappelle shoulde not be gratefull to them, being a Papiste. Sir, to speake more playnely to you then I wyll do otherwise, me thinketh th' Earl of Murrey wyll runne the course that these men do, and be partaker of theyr fortune. I heare no man speake more bitterly against the tragedye, and the players therein, than he; so lyttle lyking he hathe to horryble sinnes. I here an inklynge that Ledyngton is to go into Fraunce, which I do as muche myslike as anything for our purpose. I can assure you the whole Protestants of Fraunce wyll lyve and dye in these men's quarrells. And where there is brute amongst you, that ayde shoulde be sent to the adverse partye, and that Martigues shoulde come hither with some force: Mons. Dandelot hath assured of his honor, that, Martigues coming against them, he will come with as good a force to succour them. And if it be sent under meaner conduct, Robert Stuart shall come with as many to fortify them. But the Connestable hathe assured these lords, that the Kinge meaneth no way to offende them. Sir, I praye you fynde my revocation convenient, and spede you to further it, for I am now here to no purpose, unless it be to kyndle these Lords more against us. Thus I do humbly take my leave of you. From Edinburgh, the 12th of August, 1567.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.*

I write these few lines, good cozin, rather because I would, among other of your friends, you should hear from me, then that I can write any thing of courtly proceedings. And yet by the last letters I received I did understand, that the resolution for answer to the Archduke should be to satisfy al his wel-willers. My state in healthe was such as I was not able to repair to the court myself, although I received letters for my reparation in the afternoon, when I had received your pacquet in the morning before, which made me more able to know what I had to do; and therefore, insted of my own going, I did write to her Majesty at some length, what I thought of the matter, which letter hath been scanned according to every man's affection, and therefore I newly am now counted a Papist. But as long as I discharge my duty and conscience to God, my Prince, and my country, I am too wel mortified to care for slanderous reports. Thus, good cozin, resting yours, leaving the report of the state of matters now at the court to other of your friends' report, who can write more certainly then I, because I heard not this eight dayes, I bid you most heartily farewell. From Norwich, this 18th December, 1567.

Your assured loving kinsman,

T. NORFOLK.

* The Emperor Maximilian this year sent Count Stolberg to treat for a marriage between the Archduke Charles and the Queen of England. The Earl of Sussex had been sent to the imperial court to negotiate this marriage; but after various proposals, the article of religion was found to be an insurmountable difficulty, and the negotiation was broken off. The Duke of Norfolk, writing in favour of the Archduke, was therefore accused by his opponents of being a Papist. The letters of Sussex, describing his reception at Vienna, are printed in Lodge.

SIR WILLIAM DRURY* TO CECIL.

It may please your honor, since the depeche of Nicholas Darington, I have understoode of some more certaintie of suche matter as passed betwene the Quene and th'erle of Murrey,† at his being with her nowe lastely at Lowghlewyn, where, at the first, she burthened him of the rigour that was used unto her at this last parliament, and he answered, that he and the rest of the nobilitie could do no lesse for their owne suretie in respect they had enterprised to putt her into captivitie. From that she entered into another purpose, being marriage, praying she might have a husband, and named one to her lykinge, George Dowglas‡ brother to the Lord of Lowghlewyn. Unto the which th'erle replied, that he was over meane a marriage for her Grace, and sayd further that he with the rest of the nobilitie would take advice thereupon.

This in substance was all that passed betwene the Quene and th'erle of Murrey at that tyme. But after, uppon 25th of the last, she enterprised an escape, and was the rather nerer effect throughe her accustomed long being a bedd all the morning. The manner of it was thus: There cometh into her the landresse early as other tymes before she was wonted, and the Quene, (according to such a secret prac-

* Sir William Drury, eldest son of Sir Robert Drury, of Edgerly in Buckinghamshire. He married the widow of Lord Williams of Thame. He was made by Elizabeth Marshal of Berwick. "His youth," says Lloyd in his Worthies, "was spent in the French wars, his middle-age in Scotland, and his old age in Ireland." He died Lord Deputy of this latter country.

† Who had been appointed Regent.

‡ Murray's half brother, and one of the chief personages of Scott's romance, "The Abbot." I have met with some document, mentioning a son of Mary, by this same George Douglas, but cannot at present lay my hand upon it. It was by his aid that the Queen escaped from Lochleven castle. In a letter of the 7th of May, printed in Keith, Drury says, after the Queen's escape, "I hear that George Douglas, notwithstanding his great merit for her liberty, is now but little accounted of."

tice), putteth on the weede¹ of her landresse, and so, with the fardell² of clothes and her muffler uppon her face, passeth owt and entreth the bote to passe the Loughe, which, after some space, one of them that rowed said merily, "lett us see what manner of dame this is!" and therewith offered to pull downe her muffler, which to defend she put upp her hands, which they espyed to be very fayre and white, wherewith they entered into suspition whom she was, beginning to wonder at her enterprise. Whereat she was litle dismayed, but chardged them uppon danger of their lives to rowe her over to the shore, which they nothing regarded, but eftesones rowed her back agayne, promising her that it shuld be secreted, and in especiall from the lord of the house under whose gard she lieth. It seemeth she knew her refuge, and where to have founde it, if she had ones landed, for there did and yet do linger George Douglas, at a litle village called Kinrosse, hard at the Lowghe side, and with the same George Dowglasse one Simple and one Beeton, the which two were sometyme her trusty servants, and as yet appereth they mynd her no lesse affection.

The Lord of Fleming, notwithstanding he still victualet and maketh provision, he hathe offred three personages of as greate livehoode as himselfe to enter caution and suretie unto the Erle of Murray, that he shall onely hold the peace at the devotion and service of the yong King, and to none other, which of the wyser sort is judged but delay, and therefore not accepted.

William Lesseley is still in the castel of Edenbourge, and hath been divers tymes examined by the Secretarie, the President, Mr. James Maguile, and Mr. Henry Banes; but nothyng of effect can be tried of hym. The writings that he has, as they say, were of no greate consequence, directed for the most part from the Bishoppe of Glasgow to Dumblayn and Killwemers to their friends, containing no notable purpose;

¹ Clothes.

² Bundle

neverthelesse he shall not yet be set at libertie, till he be better tryed.

Th'erle of Murrey hath uppon understanding of the two appointments past to be frustrated, sent Mr. Nicholas Jefeston into Twedele to Sesford and others, to spurre them to justice. And as semeth he taketh this remissenes in such good works in very displeasant sort, and thinks himselfe ill handled in particular.

There have suffered since th'erle of Murray's sessions at Glasgow, sixe Lenox-men. And the other day one of the Hamiltons and Stewerds, of purpose awayting one of the Simples, met with him uppon the way, and there killed him.

Th'erle of Castells makes means to come to the Regent, so he might be earnestly sought unto, which the Erle of Murray will not grant unto.

And thus I committ your Honor to the tuition of God.

From Barwyk, the 2nd of April, 1568.

Your Honor's humbly at commandement,

WILLIAM DRURY.

SIR WILLIAM DRURY TO CECIL.

Right honorable, it maye please you to be advertised that being earnestlye required by th'earle of Murrey his letter for the speedy and hasty convoye of these letters unto Mr. Elphiston is the chief occasion of this dispatche, having as yet but lyttle more to saye, more than in my former I signified, and referred unto the reporte of my servante, saving that I gather that ere manye dayes passe, th'erle of Murreye hopeth to bring something to passe to his owne contentation.

Their gathering continueth still on both sydes,* but th'earle of Murreye's companie is bothe the greater and also encreaseth most. He hathe presently put in paye twelve score

* Mary had now escaped from Lochleven.

harquebusiers, which came from Edenborough and other places.

And as I can gather that as the Quene contenteth herself with her liberty, so if she enjoyed the same free from owt of the hands of the Hamiltons, her liberty would be as joyfull and delectable unto her ; but whether the same growe either for the old hate and mislyking to the howse, or for their plaine speeche with finding faulte and putting her in mynde of what they have adventured for her, and that they can leave her as they have drawen unto her, I knowe not.

Th'earles of Huntley and Argyle lye still. The Quene offred to make the Earle of Argyle livetenante of the field. Whether it were that she assured herself of him, or to procure his comyng, I knowe not. And that the Master of Maxwell should have the second chardge.

There is one John Drysdale, who being put most in trust by the Lord of Loughleven, was the chief carryer and conveyer of letters betweene the Quene and George Dowglas,* as appeareth, who ryding with the Lord of Loughleven towards th'earle of Murrey, finding himselfe as it seemeth giltie in his conscience, stale privily away from hym four or fyve myles before he came to the place, and is fledde.

The Quene is content to pardon all saving fyve, so that they will come to her, viz. th'erle Morton, the Lord Lyndsey, Lord Simple, James Bawford, and Craggemyller, now Provost of Edenboroughe.

Ther is a river as it were of lyke distance betweene them, whereunto the stoute watche on eyther syde do dayly meete and talke together. The cause of their stoute going so farr from their forces is by reason of a bridge there, which is the chief passage for quarter.

Ther is daylie practise and invention to allure the loose persons of Tyvidale and Liddisdale, Hallidan, and other places not onely to go unto her, but also to annoy and offend these borders.

* By whose aid the Queen escaped from prison.

God kepe your Honor. From Barwyk, the 12th of Maye, 1568.

The Quene would willingly have gone for her more suerty to Dumbarton Castle; but the Ambletons wyll not therunto condescend, alledging that there she should be in lyttell better estate then in Loghleven, consydering the practice that the Lord of Ledington would use to the Lord Fleming. But as that may be one cause, so they thynk by having her in theyr possession they shal be the stronger, and bryng theyr purpose the better to passe, and she is now gone to Draffen, lyttle to her contentation. Captain Collyne, who secretly levyng of soldiers to go to the Quene, is apprehended, and in the Castell of Edenborough. The Lord of Grange having well furnished the castell with victualls, is gone to Glaskoe, leaving the charge of the same to his brother, and to other of his frendes.

The French ambassador should as yesterdaye night have bene at Edenborough henceward.

Your Honor's assuredly at commandment,

WILLIAM DRURY.

SIR WILLIAM DRURY TO CECIL.

Right honorable, according to my last of the 14th of this present, touching the encounter of the Quene's force and the Earle of Murraye's,* the same was true, and the Earle, the Viceroy, the Lord Seton, the Lord Ross, the younge Lord of Preston, Sir James Ambleton, the Lord of Treybrowen, and others prisoners, and divers slaine; whereof the most are of the Ambletons, and two captaines of footemen, as Stewart and Loader, should also be slaine, and their ensignes taken. Their ordinance is also taken, as fower field pieces, which were the Ambletons', and the carriage with the powder by some accident as they were fighting took fire and

* The celebrated battle of Langsyde, which compelled Mary to fly into England.

blewe up. Th'Earle did his best to stay bloud to be shed, yea by his contraries* the same is affirmed. The Quene a reasonable distance of, and gave the looking on, till she sawe howe it proceded, and then retyred unto Dumbarton, where she yet remaines, and not so farre followed nor in the chase so much harme done as might, for that moste were of foote. The Lord Hume is hurte with a speare in his legg, whom th'earle could not have spared nor his. As I before have said, I have some here who are not yet returned, by whom I shall knowe the whole, yet in the meanwhile for confirmation of my former, I thought it fit to say thus much. Monsieur de Leamunte mindes to returne, if not already past, from the west parties, as I am advertised.

There is tofore, as I did signifie, past hither Beton;† I cannot heare of any commission. As I can gather he came into the way about Morpette.¹ Two pence a mile will further a stranger, whatsomever his arrand be, to horses; the same I referre unto your Honor's further discretion.

There is of the March some Lordes that deales with me to procure them licence to shroude themselves in England, that dowtes th'earle's victorie will turne to their evill, not that they were nowe in the field with the Quene in person, but in heart, and minded within four dayes to have had the rest there, which is knowen, as also their not coming to the Earle

* His enemies. "There were," says Sir James Melvil, "not many horsemen to pursue after them, (the Queen's army,) and the Regent cried to save and not to kill, and Grange was never cruel, so that there were but few slain and taken." Yet Mary in her letter to Elizabeth from Workington, on her first arrival in England, dwells on Murray's cruelty to the fugitives. Melvil's description of this conflict is extremely vivid, and forms more than the groundwork of that given by Scott in the admirable romance already quoted.

† It is this Beaton who was said to have carried a ring from Mary to Elizabeth, asking an asylum and protection in England; but it would appear by this letter that he came before Mary could have had any intention of coming into England.

¹ Morpeth.

according to the proclamation ; to whom I give but a deaf eare, till I knowe the Quene's Majestie's pleasure.

Mr. Elphiston passed by this morninge, demanding of me if I had not receaved a letter from the Quene's Majestie, my soveraigne, touching border matters. I have receaved none such. And so for this present, I committ your Honor to the tuition of God, who ever preserve you ! From Barwick, this 15th of May, 1568.

Your Honor's humbly assured at commandment,

WILLIAM DRURY.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS* TO CECIL.

The Quene of Scotts is staid still at Carlill by the Deputie Warden's good behaviour and discretion toward her Highnes' service ; and my Lord of Northumberlande,† upon the receipt of your letter a Sondaye nighte, came away from Carlill a Monday, whereby I am quieted, and meane for preservation of my healthe to make my jornies easier, so that it wil be to-morrow before I come to Carlill. And because the Quene

* The Knollyses, who were allied by blood to the Queen, were in their county the rivals of the Norrises. Sir Francis was the son of Robert Knollys, a gentleman to the privy chamber to Henry VIII. He lived in exile during Mary's reign, and became a zealous puritan. Elizabeth honoured him as an honest man, and made him knight of the garter, and afterwards vice-chamberlain, captain of her guard, lieutenant of the county of Oxford, and finally treasurer of the household. He was now sent to Carlisle to receive the Queen of Scots. He died in 1596.

† Mary came into England, with a very slight retinue, on the 16th of May. As she landed within the jurisdiction of the Duke of Northumberland, who was secretly in her favour, he claimed her as his prize, Von Raumer, in his "Contributions to Modern History," seems to have taken an entirely erroneous view of Northumberland's visit. He says, "On the 20th of May, she (Mary) was conveyed to Carlisle, in company with Lords Fleming, Livingston and Maxwell, and several English lords and ladies went thither by direction of Elizabeth, togethe

of Scotts is not removed from Carlill, therefore my letter to my Lord of Northumberlande, wherof I sent you the copie, is not delivered unto hym, (according to my direction in that behalfe prescribed to the bearer.) Also my Lord of Northumberlande yesterday, hearing of my coming, came from his howse at Toplife,* and mett me on the way at this end Borough Briggs,† and with him Sir Nicholas Fearfax and Sir William Fearfax his sone, Mr. Hungate, and Mr. Vavasor,‡ being all unsounde in religion, and with his Lordship at Carlill.

At the firste his Lordship complayned unto me of the Deputie Warden's misusage of him, saying that he would not suffer his Lordship to repaire into the castell to see the Quene, with any more companie then his page, not onlie to his dishonour, but as though he had bene a stranger and a suspect person. Wherunto I answered his Lordship verie playnlie that if he soughte to take the Quene into his own custodie oute of the Deputie Warden's hands, and that withoute warrante, as his personall repaire to the Quene of Scotts also was without warrant at the Quene our mistres' hands, then did the Deputie Warden dutifullie and wiselie, and his Lordship had overshott himselfe verie much to the discontentation of her Highnes. Wherunto he answerde for th'excuse of his repair, that he thought himselfe bound in dutie for the honor

with the Earl of Northumberland, who was to take upon himself the superintendence. This was the more necessary as the number of Mary's followers daily increased."

* Topcliffe, in Yorkshire, where was a castle of the Percies.

† Boroughbridge in Yorkshire.

‡ Sir Nicholas Fairfax of Walton and of Gilling, sheriff of Yorkshire in the twenty-third and twenty-eighth of Henry VIII. and the third of Elizabeth. He was a kinsman of the Earl of Northumberland, his grandmother having been a Percy. William Hungate of Saxton in Yorkshire. John Vavasor, of Haselwood in the same county. A younger son of Sir Nicholas Fairfax, named Nicholas, married Jane, daughter of William Hungate, of Saxton, and one of his daughters was married to John Vavasor. Sir William was sheriff of Yorkshire in the twentieth of Elizabeth.

of the Quene's Highnes, our mistres, to repaire into Commerlande, where his lande lay, for the defence of the Quene of Scotts against the pursuite of her enemies. And for his desire to have the custodie of the Quene, he saythe he did desire it not onlie because the Deputie Warden was too base a man to have such a charge, but also because the Councill of Yorke had given him letters of authoritie to the Sheriff and Justices of Commerlande to assiste him in that behalfe. But I told his Lordship that "although the Councill of Yorke had forgotten themselves verie much, to appointe th'assistance of the shiere to any other then to the Deputie Warden, or to allowe of the repaire of your Lordship to the Quene of Scotts, before her Highnes' speciall pleasure knowne in that behalfe, yet neverthelesse Mr. Gargrave * utterlie denied the giving of authoritie to your Lordship to interrupte the Warden in any parte of his chardge, and he saithe further, your Lordship made your repaire firste, and had their allowance and letter of assistance sent after you, because they understode by your letters that the Quene of Scotts was arived at a howse of yours, being an inconvenient place for her safetie, if her enemies shoulde pursue her."

His Lordship also founde himself somewhat greved with the token sent unto him by her Highnes of a speeche that she had with him upon the privie stairs at Westminster. In th'end his Lordship axed myne advice, and I desyred him to consider with himselfe whether it were not beste for him to make his repaire to the Quene's Highnes forthwith; the which he misliked very much, in respecte of the charge thereof to ensue. I was so wearie yesternight, that I forbare to write untill this morninge. I must nedes tell you that I found Mr. Gargrave verie penitent and sorie for his sodayn

* Sir Thomas Gargrave, son of Thomas Gargrave, of Wakefield in Yorkshire. He was speaker of the House of Commons in Elizabeth's first parliament, and was at the time of this letter President of the Council of the North. After the dissolution he had been much enriched by various grants of abbey lands. He died in 1579.

private allowance of my Lord of Northumberland's dealing with the Quene of Scotts in any parte.

My Lords of the Cownsayle's letter of thanks unto my Lord Wharton,* for his wyse and dutifull advice unto my Lord of Northumberland, wold comfort him well, and make him a carefull ware man in her Highnes' service.

Sir George Bowes† also sent a man hither yesternight (being sycke hymselfe,) to declare unto my Lord Skrope, that he, meeting with my Lord of Northumberlande at his first entrance of his jorney towards the Quene of Skottes, did advyse his Lordship earnestly to forbear his repayre to the Quene of Skottes, untill her Highnes' pleasure were knowne. I told Sir Nicholas Fayrfaxe yesterday, that he wold be tawghte to attend upon her Highnes' pleasure before he should attend upon the Quene of Skottes, or upon my Lord of Northumberland, in such cases. Thus with my most hartie commendations, I commyt you to God. From Richmond,* this Thursdaye, the 27 of May, 1568.

Yours assured,

F. KNOLLYS.

* Sir Thomas Wharton, first Baron Wharton of Wharton, in Westmoreland, Warden of all the Marches towards Scotland, and Governor of Berwick. He died this year (1568.)

† Sir George Bowes was a man of great property and weight in the north. We shall shortly meet with him as provost marshal of the army, acting a conspicuous part in the suppression of the northern rebellion of 1569.

‡ Richmond, in Yorkshire.

LORD SCOPE* AND SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO THE
QUEEN.

We arryved here at Karlell yesterday at sixe of the clock after noone, and by the waye my Lord Harrys † met us sixe myles from this towne, and after he had discoursed of the lamentable estate of the Quene of Skottes his mystres, inveighing much agaynst the treasonable crueltie of her enemyes, and also saying as muche as he coulde for the innocency of his mistres touchyng the murder of her husbände, the which he sayd wold be easily proved, if the Quene his mystres might be herd to speke for herselfe in your Highnes' presence, and affirmyng that he trusted your Highnes wolde eyther gyve her ayde to the chastysing of her subjectes for her relieffe and comforte, or els that your Highnes wolde gyve her leave to passthrough your countrie into France to seeke relief elsewhere. Wher-

* Henry le Scrope, ninth Baron Scrope of Bolton, in Yorkshire, Governor of Carlisle, and Warden of the West Marches. When Mary came into England, Lord Scrope was in London.

† The following character of Lord Herries is given in a letter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Cecil, from Edinburgh, dated 20th August, 1567, (in the State Paper Office :)

“ The Lord Herryes is the cunningyng horseleache, and the wysest of the whole faction ; but, as the Quene of Scotlande sayeth of hym, there is no body can be sure of hym. He taketh pleasure to beare all the world in hande. We have good occasion to be well ware of hym. Sir, you remember how he handled us, when he delivered Dunfryse, Carlaveroke, and the Hermitage into our handes : he made us beleave all shoulde be oures to the Fyrthe : and when we trusted hym best, how he helped to chase us away, I am sure you have not forgotten. Heere amongst his owne countrymen he is noted to be the most cautious man of hys nation.

“ It may lyke yow to remember, that he suffred hys owne hostages, the hostages of the Lord of Loughanver and Garlies, hys nexte neighboures and frendes, to be hanged for promys broken by hym. This muche I speake of hym, because he is the lykelyest and most daungerous man to inchaunte you.”

unto we answered, that your Highnes could in no wyse lyke her seking ayde in France, thereby to bryng Frenchemen into Skotland, and we dowed your Highnes could thynk it mete to receave her so honourably into your presence as your desyrous affectyon and good wyll towards her did wishe, untill your Highnes myght be well instructed and satisfyed, by probable reasons, that she was clear and innocent of the said murder, by some suche wise man as he that myght sett forthe the same manyfestly.* Whereuppon, and through other conferēces, pryvate with me, the Lord Skrope, he seemed to determyne to ryde towards your Highnes for that intent, within a daye or twayne, which was the thyng we specially sought for. And after thys, repaying into the castle, we fownd the Quene of Skottes in her chamber of presence ready to receave us; where, after salutations made, and our declaration also of your Highnes' sorrowfulnes for her lamentable misadventures and inconvenyent arryvall, although your Highnes was gladd and joyfull of her good escape from the peryll of her persone, with many circumstances thereunto belonging, and we found her in her answers to have an eloquent tonge, and a discrete head, and it seemeth by her doinges she hath stout courage and liberall harte adjoined therunto. And after our delyvery of your Highnes' letters, she fell into some passion with the water in her eyes, and therewith she drew us with her into her bedd-chamber, where she complayned unto us, for that your Highnes did not answer her expectation for the admytting her into your presence forthwith, that uppon declaration of her innocency, your Highnes

* In an interview with Queen Mary on the 30th of May, the letter describing which is printed in Ellis, vol. ii. p. 243, Sir Francis Knollys intimated to her, that certain crimes might justify the deposition of a sovereign. "The question is," said he, "whether your Grace deserved to be put from the government, or not, for if your Grace should be gyltye of any such odious cryme as deserveth deposall, then howe should they be blamed that have deposed you?"

would eyther without delay give her ayde yourselfe to the subduing of her enemyes, or els being now come of good will and not of necessitie into your Highnes' handes, (for a good and greatest part of her subjectes, sayd she, do remayne fast unto her styll,) your Highnes would at the leaste forthwith gyve her passage through your countrey into France, to seeke ayde at other Prynces' handes, not dowting but both the French King and the King of Spayne would gyve her relief in that behalfe to her satisfaction. And here she fell into discourse that the cause of the warr and disobedient treason of the chiefs of those her subjects, was thereby to kepe that which she had too liberally given them, by violence, since through her privye revocation theroff within full age, they could not enjoye the same by laws, and with this she affirmed that bothe Lyddyngton and the Lord Morton were assentyng to the murder of her husband, as it could wel be proved, altho nowe they would seem to persecute the same. Unto the first part wherof we answered, that your Highnes was inwardly sorry and very muche grieved that you could not do her that great honor to admytt her solempnly and worthely into your presence, by reason of this great slander of murder, wherof she was not yet purged. But we sayd that we were sure that your Highnes' affection towards her was great; that whether her Grace could purge herself or not in that behalfe, yet if she would depend upon your Highnes' favor, without sekyng to bryng in strangers into Skotland, (the imminent danger wherof your Highnes' could not suffer,) then undowtedly your Highnes would use all the convenient meanes you could for her relief and comforte. And withall we sayd that if it would please her Grace to direct us thereunto, we would advertise your Highnes of those her determynations with all spede, upon answer wherof we should be able to declare further of your Highnes' intent and meaning. Wherwith her Grace complayned muche of delayes to her prejudice, and wyning of tyme to her enemyes, so that discontentedly she contently herselfe therewith. Wherupon we took our

leave, saying we wold dispatche awaye with all possible spede. Also the Quene of Skottes dothe presently send up the Lorde Herrys with her letters for spedie resolution.

And nowe it behoveth your Highnes, in mine opynion, gravely to consider what answer is to be made herein, specially because that many gentlemen of diverse shires here neare adjoyning within your realme, have heard her dayly defence and excuses of her innocency, with her great accusations of her enemyes very eloquently told, before our coming hither; and therefore I, the Vice-Chamberlayne,* do referr to your Highnes' better consideration, whether it were not honorable for you in the syght of your subjectes and of all forrayn prynces, to put her Grace to the choyse whether she wold depart backe into her contrye without your Highnes' impeachment, or whether she wold remayne at your Highnes' devotion within your realme here, with her necessary servants only to attend upon her, to see howe honorably your Highnes can do for her. For by this meanes your Highnes, I thynk, shall stopp the mouthes of backbyters, that otherwyse wold blowe owte seditious rumors, as well in your own realme as elsewhere, of detaynyng of her ungratefully. And yet I thynk it is lykely that if she had her owne choyse, she wold not go back into her owne realme presently, nor untill she myght looke for succor of men owte of France to joyne with her there. Or if she wold go presently into her owne contrye, the worse were that peradventure with danger inoughe she myght get into France, and that wold hardly be done, if my Lorde of Murraye have a former inkling of her departure thither. And on the other syde, she cannot be kept so rygorously as a prisoner with your Highnes' honor, in myn opynion, but with devyces of towels or toyes at her chamber wyndow, or elsewhere, in the nyght, a body of her agylity and spyryte may escape soone, being so neare the border. And surely to have

* Sir Francis Knollys.

her carryed further into the realme, is the hygh way to a dangerous sedition, as I suppose.

Thus ceasing to trouble your Majestie, we wyshe the same prosperous felicity, with long continuance of healthe, to the pleasure of God, and good contentation of your good subjects.

Your Majestie's most humble and obedient servants,

H. SCROPE. F. KNOLLYS.

SIR F. KNOLLYS TO CECIL.

Sir, as touching my letter wrytten to my Lordes of the Cownsayle, and namely that article touching my Lord Scrope's detaining of this Quene with the ayde of this band of Barwyke, without myn assistance, my Lorde Scrope is privie thereunto as to all other thyngs, and I am sure he woll not refuse the service therof, if it be offered unto hym: and myn assistance in her detention beyng but superfluous after the wekely charge is sett downe and made certain, I wold be very gladd to be rydd, by your good meanes, of this my superfluous charge. I thought good to saye thus much, if perhaps the resolution fall owte, that she should be detained hereabouts.

The strengthe of this Quene in Skotland, (saving what Frenchmen and French crownes may do ther,) doth depend not uppon herself, but uppon the Duke of Shatylleroe, for his tytyle, uppon whom the Lord Herryse and many others do depend.

And yet this ladie and pryncess is a notable woman. She semeth to regard no ceremonious honor besyde the acknowledging of her estate regalle. She sheweth a disposition to speake much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very famylyar. She sheweth a great desyre to be avenged of her enemyes; she sheweth a readines to expose herselfe to all perylls in hope of victorie; she delyteth much to hear of

hardines and valiancye, commending by name all approved hardy men of her cuntrye, altho they be her enemyes; and she commendeth no cowardnes even in her frendes. The thyng that most she thirsteth after is victory, and it semeth to be indifferent to her to have her enemies dimynish, either by the sword of her frendes, or by the liberall promises and rewardes of her purse, or by divysion and quarrells raised amongst themselffes; so that for victorie's sake, payne and perrylls semeth pleasant unto her, and in respect of victorie, welthe and all thyngs semeth to her contemptuous and vile. Nowe what is to be done with such a ladie and pryncess, or whether such a pryncess and ladye be to be nouryshed in one's bosome, or whether it be good to halte and dissemble with such a ladye, I referr to your judgment.

If her Hyghnes thynke it good to staye the comyng in of the Frenche into Skotland, if her Hyghnes thynk any perrill towards her, if her Hyghnes thynk any prynces and potentes, or that any factious subjects may conspyre agaynst her, then I am sure she woll thynk it good pollicy rowndlye and playnly to assist her owne cause, withowt colours and cloakes that hydeth no men's eyes but those that are blynde, and surely the playnest waye is the most honourable in my symple opynion.

I take it an honourable quarrell for her Hyghnes to expell the Frenche, and the safest waye therto is to ayde and countenance the Regent in tyme. And if the spotts in this Quene's coate be manifeste, the playner and the sooner that her Highnes doth reveale her discontentation therewith, the more honorable it wol be, I suppose; and it is the readiest waye to stoppe the mouthes of factious murmuring subjects. But this is more than nedes to be spoken to you. Wherefore with most hartie commendations, my Lord Scrope and I do comytt you to God.

From Carlyle, the 11th of June, 1568.

Yours assured,

F. KNOLLYS.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO CECIL.

This daye, at nine of the clocke, my Lorde Scrope and I presented Mr. Mydlemore to this Quene, and as touching the discourse betweene them, I leave to Mr. Mydlemore's declaration, least I should disgrace his well labored speache, wherin he did very well observe his instructions. But to be playne with you, there is no fayre semblance of speeche that semeth to wyne anye credyt with her, and altho she is content to take and allow of this message to my Lorde of Murraye for abstinence from hostilities, because it makes for her purpose to staye her partie from falling presently from her, yet she seeth that this colde dealyng woll not satisfye her fyery stomache, and surely it is a great vanitie (in myn opynion) to thynk that she wol be stayde by curtesy, or bryddled by straw, from bryngyng in of the Frenche into Skotland, or from employing all her force of monye, men of warr, and of frendshipp, to satisfye her bluddye appetite to shedd the bludde of her enemyes. As for imprysonment, she makes none account therof; and unless she be removed as a prysoner, it semeth she woll not be removed further into the realme, to be detayned from her Hyghnes' presence. She playnly affirmeth that, howsoever she be detayned, the Duke of Shattilleroe, beyng heyre apparent, shall prosecute her quarrell with the power of the Frenche, and all the ayd of her dowrye and masse of monye by any meanes to be levied and made for her.

Nowe, she being thus desperately sett, it is to be considered whether her Hyghnes defraying her here within her realme, shall not therby able her to imploy 12,000*l.* yerely, being her dowrye in France, both agaynst Skotland and consequently agaynst England, wheras if she were at libertye, all her dowrye wold be spent uppon her owne findyng, and the charges that her Hyghnes shall be at in defraying of her here wold be well employed in Skotland, to the defending and ex-

pulsing of the French from thence. But I speak lyke a blynde bussard, and therefore woll leave these matters to you that have judgment.

And thus, with my Lorde Scroope's most hartie commendations and myne, I take my leave of you, desyring yet to be remembred to my wyff.

From Carlille, the 13th of June, at nyght, 1568.

Yours assured,

F. KNOLLYS.

Postscript.—This last week's charges, ended on Fridaye, came unto 56*l*.

Postscript.—She also uttered certain speeches in showing her loathsomnes to be removed further into England unles to her Hyghnes' presence, that it might be easily conjectured that some practises of escaping wer not owt of her head, nor yet owte of her hope. And her libertie of access unto her intelligences allwayes dothe encourage her own boldness herein.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO CECIL.

(June 15, 1568.—Extract.)

* * * * *

Yesterdaye her Grace wente owte at a posterne to walk on a playing greene towards Skotland; and we, with twenty-four halberders of Master Read's band, with dyverse gentlemen and other servants, wayted upon her, where abowte twenty of her retinue playd at foote-balle before her the space of two howers, very strongly, nimblie, and skilfullie, withowte any fowle playe offerd, the smalnes of theyr balle occasionyng theyr fayre playe.

And before yesterdaye, synce our comyng, she went but twyse oute of the towne, once to the lyke playe at foote-balle

in the same place, and once she rode owte a huntyng the hare, she gallopyng so faste upon every occasion, and her whole retinue being so well horsed, that we, uppon experience thereof, dowing, that uppon a sett course some of her frendes out of Skotland might invade and assault us upon the sodayne for to reskue and take her from us, we meane hereafter, if any such ryding pastymes be required that waye, so much to feare the indangering of her person by some sodayn invasion of her enemies, that she must hold us excused in that behalfe.

* * * * *

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO CECIL.

We have sent you here inclosed the cotype of the proclamation that was proclaimed this day at noone in this towne. The ground and cause of the same, my Lord Scroop hathe wrytten at large. Whereof this Quene hearing, was very much offended, and desyring to speak with us, at our fyrst coming, she complayned much that by this proclamation my Lord Warden seemed to allow my Lorde of Murraye to be Regent of Skotland, contrary to the Quene's highnes' letters and message sent unto her by Mr. Mydlemore. Whereunto we answered that her grace did much mystake the proclamation, for therein he was not called Regent, by which name he claymed his authority, but he is therin only named governor of Skotland, by which name he claymed no authoritie, and therefore this proclamation doth not allow any tytle or clayme of his authoritie. But whether his tytle be good or evill, we sayd, that her Grace did well perceive that he is in possession of the government, and that he doth governe. And because that he offereth to answer justice according to the lawe of the marchesse, the which being neglected at this present myght be 2000*l*. hynderance to her Hyghnes' subjects,

besydes the murders and robberies that thereuppon myght insue, and also because no justyce nor order would be answered nor kept, nor any damage nor danger to her Hyghnes' subjects could well be avoyded, untill according to the lawes of the marchess, Englishmen should be forbydden to receive into this realme the persone or good of any Skotts fugityfes nowe uppon the coming of hym that dothe governe in Skotlande to this border. Therefore to the ende that justice and order myght be observed, and yet the allowance of the tyle and clayme of the Regent myght be avoyded, we devysed to call hym governor, because he doth governe, and to flye the name of Regent, wherby he claymeth his authoritie.

Herunto she answered that by this means we should neyther please her Grace, nor my Lorde of Murraye, for neyther wold he be content to lose the name of Regent, neyther was she content he should be called governor. We answered that in this case we preferred justyce and good order before the pleasing of any partie. "Well," saythe she, "I see by this dealing that his partie is countenanced and myne is disgraced." "Madam," sayd we, "he hath non other countenance, in this behalf, than the necessitie of justice doth requyre;" and so we parted. But indeed, if we had not advysed ourselffes better, the name of Regent had ben in this proclamation, but I was trobled this last nyght withall in my bedd, and in the morning we altered it to the name of governor, and some other thinges withall. I am marvaylous sorye to hear of my Lorde Herryse' retorne hither, whose wylke head went beyond you, when he gat Mr. Mydlemore to come hither so soone: for it wold cost the Regent twenty dayes' worke to fynyshe his busynesse to his advantage; the which being interrupted by Mr. Mydlemore, I know not what evill may come theron. And this Lord Herryse see the bottom bothe of your doings and ours, and he woll styrr coalls at his coming hither accordynglie, neyther woll there be any ende of hys peryllous practyses; but I am not gylty

of his retorne hither. And thus, with my most hartie commendations, I take my leave of you.

From Carlysle, the 16th of June, almost at myd-nyght, 1568.

Yours assured,

F. KNOLLYS.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO CECIL.

(Extract.)

* * * *

“Well,” sayd she, (Queen Mary,) “I woll not detayne this Frenche ambassador untill Master Mydelmore’s comyng, neither woll I be any longer delayed; for I woll require the Quene my good sister, that either she will lett me go into France, or that she woll put me into Dunbritone, unlesse she woll hold me as a prysoner. For I am sure,” sayth she, “that her Highness woll not of her honor put me into my Lorde of Murraye’s hands.” Hereby we might gather that, altho she wold be put into Dunbritone, that she dare not well go thither of herselffe, if she were at lyberty. And sayth she, “I woll seke ayde forthwith at other Prynces’ handes that woll helpe me, namely, the Frenche King and the King of Spayne, whatsoever come of me; because I have promysed^d my people to give them ayde by August.” And she sayd that she had found that true, which she had heard often of before her coming hither, which was that she sholde have fayre wordes enowe but no deedes. And surely all deedes are no deedes with her, unlesse her vyolent appetyte be satisfyed. And sayth she, “I have made great warrs in Skotland, and I praye God I I make no troubles in other realmes also:” and parting from us, she sayd, that if we dyd detayne her as a prysoner, we should have much ado wyth her. I omytt our replyes for brevitie sake. Andtouchyng her prayer, I joyned hartely with her that God of his mercy wold defende this realme from suche troubles, as thro our tendernes by her attempts myght

aryse, and her Highnes from suche peryls as therof myght ensue. But alas, howe can we be safe from troubles, as long as our tender haltying on bothe legges before God and the world, doth hynder our friendes that should be our strengthe, and strengthen our enemyes that wol be our perrylls, and doth weaken and unknytt some lymbe or members of the bodye of our realme from us, and may provoke God's anger agaynst us, that many wayes hath ben so mercyfull to us. But I fynde myn owne faulte, I shal be too loose, if I take not upp betymes. Wherefore, with my Lorde Scroop's most hartie commendations and myn, I commyt you to God.

From Carlylle, the 21st of June, 1568.

Your's assured,

F. KNOLLYS.

Postscript.—I cannot tell whether you have increased the postes with increase of their wages for this busy and necessarie tyme.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO CECIL.

I received your letter of the second of Julye, together with her Highnes' letter directed to this Queene, this morning at four of the clocke, wherby you may perceyve that the postes make but slow spede, howsoever it chanceth. I could not deliver her Hyghnes' letter to this Quene untill it was almost eleven of the clocke; and although she semed at the fyrst that this her Hyghnes' letter did not press her to remove, otherwise than th'others afore had done, wheruppon I thought we should have fallen into a newe contention, yet in a while she semed not greatly to repugne or denye to remove hence uppon Mundaye or Tuesday next, before which tyme she lookes to have answer of her last letter wrytten to her Hyghnes, but how this moode woll hold we know not.

My Lorde Scroope, and divers of our company here, do thyнк that our earnest contention in my last letters partly specified, and our determynation of refrayning of all intelli-

gencies from her unless she wold remove, and our free offers in that behalffe unto her if she wold remove, hath made her more plyant herin than otherwyse she wold have bene; so that we trust we shall remove her hence upon Tuesdaye next towards Bolton Castle, according to her Hyghnes' pleasure. We marvell that we heare not of Mr. Skipworthe's comyng with the horses, nor yet of the lytter.

Yesterday, this Quene, among other wordes, fell into this speche, that altho she were holden here as a prisoner, yet she had frendes that wold prosecute her cause, and, sayth she, "I can sell my ryght, and there be that woll bye it, and peradventure it hathe bene in hand already." Wherbye she made me to thynk of your information touchyng the Cardinalle of Lorayne's practyse betweene her and the Duke of Anjoye. But whether she spake this *bonâ fide*, or to sett a good countenance of the matter as tho she could do great thyngs, I cannot tell.

She doth also give oute to the followers of her parte, great assurances in wordes of ayde oute of France before the mydst of this next August. I marvayle that you heard not from me of our moving of this Quene to remove hence before the date of this your last letter, for my letter of the 26th, and agayne of the 27th of the last month sygnified therof, as well my letter of the 28th; but the postes are growne very slacke, howsoever it happens.

My Lorde of Murraye hath sent, by our messenger, to this Quene three coffers of apparyll, but because her Grace sayth that never a gowne is sent her hereby, but one of taffyta, and that the rest is but cloaks and coveryngs for saddylls, and sleeves, and partlettes, and qweyffes, and such lyke trynketts, therfore we have sent to my Lorde of Murraye agayne for her desyred apparyll, remayning in Loghlevin; but she doth offer our messengers nothyng at all for their paynes and charges. Wherfore her Hyghnes is lyke to beare the charge therof also.

And thus, with my Lorde Scroope's most harty commen-

dations and myn, I shall commyt you to God. From Carlylle, the 7th of Julye, at 5 of the clocke after noone, 1568.

Yours assured,

F. KNOLLYS.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO CECIL.

We received your letter of the 12th herof, on Wednesday nyght very late, at Wharton, and we arryved here at Bolton Castle with this Quene yester nyght, one houre after sunne setting. And since our departure from Carlylle with her, she hath ben very quyet, very tractable, and voyde of displesant countenance, altho she sayeth she woll not remove any furder into the realme without constraynt. The which removing woll easlier be done, if it be taken in hand by better personages than we are. There hath ben no repayre unto her by the waye, as myght have ben looked for; the which repayre was abyrdged by our sharp dealing with one Kristofer Lassells,* coming to Carlylle out of Yorkshire about three wekes past, of purpose to see this Quene, and because we understood hym to be a lewd practiser and arrogant papist, and also to have ben afore tyme in displeasure for practising with this Quene, therefore, after that he had confessed that he came of purpose to see the Quene, dwelling in Yorkshire, and that he had ben in trouble for her cause; we first declared unto hym that no subject of the Quene's Hyghnes ought to honor another prynce with his presence in form of visitation or welcoming the same, without commission or conduction of some of his superiors, and then we chose this yll man to disgrace for an example, in this sorte: We ap-

* There were several branches of the Lascelles settled in Yorkshire. This was probably Christopher Lascelles, of Brackenburgh. Among the examinations concerning the conspiracy of the Duke of Norfolk, we find this "Christopher Lassells" as a person in whom the Queen should "beware how she trusted."

poynted Mr. Morton to return with hym to his lodgyng, and to accompany hym untyll he had made hym ready to ryde with spede, and had seen hym out of the towne gates homewardes agayne, without seeing of this Quene as his intent was.

This house* appereth to be very strong, very fayer, and verie stately, after the oulde manner of byldyng, and is the hyghest walled house that I have seen, and hath but one entrance there into. And half the number of these soldiers may better watche and warde the same, than the whole number therof could do Carlyll Castle, where Mr. Reade and his soldiers and Mr. Morton and Mr. Wilford toke great paynes, and my Lorde Scrope also was a late watcher. The band was divided into five partes, so that the watche and wards came aboute every fifth nyght and every fifth daye, of the which watche and wards we had five governors; the first was Mr. Reade, and Wyllyam Knollys for his learning accompanied hym, the second was Mr. Morton, the third was Mr. Wylford, the fourthe was Barrett, Mr. Reade's lieutenant, and the fifth was Weste, his ansygne-bearer, a verie sufficient and carefull man also. This Quene's chamber at Carlyll had a wyndow loking oute towardes Skotland, the barrs wherof being filed asonder, oute of the same she myght have ben lett downe, and then she had playne grounds before her to pass into Skotland. But nere unto the same wyndow we founde an olde postern doore, that was dammed upp with a ramper of earth of the inner syde, of twenty foot broade and thirty foot deepe, betweene two walls; for the comoditie of which postern for our sallie to that wyndow wyth readye watche and warde, we dyd cutt into that ramper in forme of stayre with a turning aboute downe to the sayde postern, and so opened the same, without the which devise we coule not have watched and warded this Quene there so safely as we dyd. Altho there was another wyndow of her chamber for passing into an orchard within the towne

* Bolton Castle was a house of Lord Scrope's.

wall, and so to have slipped over the towne wall, that was very dangerous, but these matters I can better tell you at my return, uppon a rude platte that I have made therof. Nowe if you lyke well of our removing of this Quene hither, then I pray you consyder that your cold assistance in backing of us to the acheving of this enterprise that had so many difficulties therin, is worthie of no praise at all ; but altho a foolle's bolt be soone shotte, yet I dare not tell you all that I think herin. Nowe I trust you will returne me home forthwith, because I see no reason nor grounds of my staying here any longer ; for as touchyng the defraying of the charges, Vernone the clarke here being a suffycient carefull and honest man, having his proportion sett downe almost certayne, (which wol be partly abrydged by my departing hence,) woll easily discharge his duty in that behalfe. And so I praye your helpe, that eyther I maye serve as a cypher in agryme* at the courte, I mean to occupie a place there, or that I may be dismissed to the cart, which is fitter for me. And thus, with my Lorde Scrope's hartie commendations and myn, I shall commytt you to God. From Bolton Castle, the 16th of Julie, 1568.

Yours assured,

F. KNOLLYS.

Postscript.—The charges of removing of this Quene hither was somewhat the larger because we were dryven to hyre four lyttle carrs, and twenty carriage horses, and twenty-thre sadle horses for her women and men ; the which was well accomplished upon the sodayne, to her commoditie and satisfaction.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO CECIL.

I trussed upp the pacquett herewith inclosed yester nyght late, to have ben sent awaye this morning, and after that at one of the clocke after mydnight came your pacquett of the 12th hereof ; and according to her Highnes' letter, at nine of

* Algorithm, the old name for Arithmetic.

the clocke this morning, before the Quene was readie, having access unto her, I declared to her grace what offences her Hyghnes had conceived by hostile enterprises of her partie. Wherunto she answered, that her partye was appoynted to gather and assemble before my Lorde Herrys' comyng, to defend themselfes and to impeach the parliament, and that my Lorde Herrys' comyng unto them was no assurance that my Lorde of Murraye wold not by parliament confiscate them, and execute the prysoners that were in his hands, untill her Hyghnes' letter came unto her grace, affyrming that nothing should be done in that parliament prejudiciall to her or her partye. Immediately after the receipt of which letter, she sayth she sent a specyall man to my Lorde Herrys' and to the rest of her party, for the due observation of her Hyghnes' pleasure ; and sayth, her partie wil be quyet according, notwithstanding theyr gathering of forces. But she sayth her adversaries, namely, my Lorde of Morton's own servants (ten days synce my Lorde Herrys' comyng home) have spoyled the Lorde Skarling's brother of sixty head of beefs and of other cattyll, the which my Lorde Herrys warranted to be returned from the border to the sayd Lorde Skarling's brother's house not farr from Edinboroghe without spoyle, synce her Hyghnes had ordered hostilities to cease. And as touching the extract of Mr. Drury's letter, she sayth she wrote from Carlyll to her borderers of Tevidale, and of the easte marches, authorising them to annoy her adversaries in Skotland onely. And synce my Lorde Herrys' coming, she sayth that she hath wylled them to ceasse hostilities; but she sayth it is hard for her to rule thieves at this present.

She sendeth Bortyke nowe to her Hyghnes, and she hath written presently to my Lorde Herrys agayne for staye of her partie from all hostilities; and she hath desired me to wryte to hym also. But my Lorde Scroope presently going to Carlyll, (for the accomplyshment of her Hyghnes' pleasure as occasion serveth,) woll admonish hym suffyciently herein. As for the matters of Skotland, I refer them to God's providence, as too

intricate matters for me to deale withall. But yett surely I must never commend this Quene's pollicie, her ready wytt and her constant courage in all seasons. At our first coming to Carlyll, she fed and comforted her party with hope of ayde out of France, wyth famyliar lovyng and hartie lettres and messages, and with remembrances of her rewards to be gratefully bestowed to her assured friendes according to her accustomed lyberality; and to the Hambletons privately she dyd dedicate herselfe, as in whom she had her whole delyte and truste. And to such as she wold fayne have to be her friendes, she made them beleewe they were her frendes in hart, howsoever they were drawn away otherwyse. And when she sawe that her dayly conferences and comfortings shold cease by her coming from Carlyll, then she gave out that her coming thence was for the best, and that her Hyghnes wold do for her, howsoever her counsayle was disposed. And to make the Hambletons sure unto her, she made an instrumental wryting, assygnning thereby the Duke of Shatilleroe to have her whole authority untill her returne into Skotland. And in this mean tyme she plyed her Hyghnes with thunderyngs and great countenances, altho with gratefull conditions and promises: and at the last my Lorde Herrys' message hath ben set forthe with such a tryumphant blaste, that it hath shaken a great many in Skotland to her syde. So that it seemeth the countenance of England swayeth the realme of Skotlande at this day. Nevertheles this Quene, lyke a wyse prynce, maketh semblaunce to her Hyghnes and wold persuade us how that this continuance and increase of her partie in Skotland is of mere dutyfull love they do beare unto her: but she knoweth all theyr humors, and discovereth all the particular causes of such as have or do stand with her, and who be merely hers assured for her owne sake, who for the Frenche sake, who for the Hambleton's title and cause, and who be observers and followers of tyme.

I am glad of your bettered newes of the matters of Count Lodowyke. I must nedes commend the artificiall usage of

your copper mynes, but hereof when I speake with you. I praye you have an eye to the conveyance of our letters, for one here was in hand with one of my men for the prynt of my seale in waxe, and here is a goldsmyth attending on this Quene. Thus my Lord Scroope and I, with our most hartie commendations, shall commyt you to God. From Bolton Castle, the 16th of August, at . . . after noone, 1568.

Yours assured,

F. KNOLLYS.

Postscript.—I dyd read to this Quene so much of her Hyghnes' letter as her commandment was I should declare unto her, and no more.

SIR WILLIAM DRURY TO CECIL.

Right honorable, my servant is now arrived from Edinburgh, who hath continued there from the 17th hereof till this present day; in which tyme occurred the accidents in this manner. viz.: That upon the same day, being the second day of their parliament, it was not knowne to the Regent and his side at Edenburghe that the Earle of Huntley lingering about Fife and Angus, was above fyve hundred men, and that he would not come forward, but had commanded his people to staye, which were in Edenburghe entertayned with great joye. But the next day it was advertised that he was to the number of two thousand and more, and that he meant to burne St. Johnstons or Dundee, which he more bruted of color then of certaine purpose to execute, to th'intent he might with lesse impeachment passe to Glasco to joyne with the Earle of Argile and the Lord Fleminge, who were there aryved the same daye with fiftene hundred men, and did, and I think yet do, besiege the castle thereof, which is defended with three score persons. These arrived to be declared to the Regent in one day, and almost at one instant, which moved them for that tyme to dissolve the parliament, and the

next to send some forces against th'Earle of Huntley to empeache his secret purpose to come to Sterlinge. It is assuredlie hoped this misadventure of th'Earle of Huntley's hath discouraged the further processe of the concerted enterprise. Nevertheles, they do yet at Glasco persevere. But upon the defeate of the Earl of Huntley, the Regent hath prorogued the parliament, and having forfeited yet none but gentlemen to the number of fifteen (?) or thereabouts, hath sent to the Earle of Arguile and all the rest that if any of them will come in and acknowledge the King and his authoritie, he shal be receaved. But if they proceed in their contempt and disobedience, that then it shal be too late to offer it. And in this state resteth the substance of their doings yet discovered.

The Lorde Harrys is returned back from his confederates, much to the discontentation of the Earle of Huntley. But of late he sent letters of his proper writing to the Earle of Huntley, with a copie of a letter written from the Quene's Majesty my sovereign, purporting, as appeareth, some manner of comforte to the Quene and her side, as that the holding of this parliament should not in any way prejudice her or her causes. Which letters were intercepted and brought to the Regent, who hath well considered the same. And as semeth, though his adverse parties take great comforte thereat, yet he judgeth the meaning thereof to be more milde towards him then their construction.

Of late the Regent hath intercepted letters written from the Quene to the Lorde Fleminge and others, wherein she useth all good words of comforte to procede in their secret purposes against the rebells.* These and manie other like do keepe the people in Scotland in such distracted minds,

* Mary was still playing a double part—openly, she ordered her party to lay down their arms, if the other party would do the same ; but secretly she encouraged them to continue their attempts, trusting that the others, confiding in her outward promises, would be taken anawares.

that whatsoever they do for the tyme yield unto, they minde it not with any constancy. He hath likewise intercepted letters from Mr. John Louiston, written to his father, who writeth that the Quene did let him see a letter which was written out of Fraunce, much to her comforte; that the King drawing nowe to some more quietnes in his countrey, would releve her with sixe thousand Frenchmen. This, though in good judgements it may in this tyme be accounted for a vaine expectation, yet being used thus, it serveth the purpose they employ it to; and therefore, if such manner of writing were for a tyme restrained, it might perchance in the ende breede more quietnes. But that which the Regent hath most care of, is of advertisement he hath lately gotten from France, which being a thing most likely, he giveth like credit; that George Douglas,† by the helpe of the Duke and the Lord Arbroth, hath taken up a thousand Frenchmen to be paid by them (as it is collected) out of the Quene's dowrie, which they have receaved even nowe in France, and to conduct them hither about the middle or the latter end of this next moreth, with the Duke himself. And this he maketh great care of, as he thinks likely to take place; for that though the money and men be appointed by the French, yet they may avoyde it, as that it were not their intention to assist directly with money and men; but to give her her dowry, they cannot deny it, being her due; and as to the men, they will not seem to know thereof, or knowing therof will not restrain them from seeking adventure at forrayne chardges. So that under this color, this kind of indirecte dealing may both prejudice their estate, and by consequence come nere us here. Wherefore, understanding thus much, I thought well to advertise your Honor, who if your wisdom shall think it meete to be imparted to the Quene's Majesty and my Lords of the counsell, it may be done at your pleasure. God ever

* Scott, in the Abbot, supposes George Douglas to have been killed at the battle of Langside.

keepe your Honor. From Barwick, this present 21st of August, 1568.

Your Honor's humbly at commandment,
W. DRURY.

THE EARL OF MURRAY TO SIR JOHN FORSTER.

After my most hearty commendations, it is reported to me as truth, that the Lord of Fernyhurst looked continually upon the 14th, 15th, and 16th of this present, when the Quene should be conveyed to his house forth of Bolton, where she presently remaynes, by the meanes of some Englishmen. The chief enterpriser wherof is thought to be your frend George Heron.

Of the which report made we determined at the first to make you warning, because we are much assured ye wold be right sory that any sik accident should be brought to passe in sik a manner, and principally your soveraigne, but in apparent endanger this estate, and perturbe the quietness of the whole realme. So being thus far informed, we doute not but you will advertise my Lord Scrope and Mr. Vice Chamberlayne,* that has in charge to attend upon her. But els wyll trie sa far in the matter as you thynk good, be reason of your frend that is thus delayed¹ to be a partener or rather a chief instrument of this stratagem. Thus for this present we commit you in the protection of God.

At Edenburgh, the 21st of August, 1568.

Your right assured frend,
JAMES, REGENT.

* Sir Francis Knollys.

¹ Reported.

SIR JOHN FORSTER* TO CECIL.

May it please your Honor to be advertised, that the 23rd daie of September laste, my Lord of Hunsden† and I met the Warden of Scotland and Mr. Ballentyne, the Justice

*Sir John Forster, of Bamborough Abbey, Northumberland, who held the post of Warden of the middle marches for thirty-seven years. Scott says his proper name was Forrester. He was also Deputy-governor of Berwick, and governor of Bamborough Castle. Sir John had much trouble at this time with the Scottish clans on the border, who were many of them adherents of the party opposed to the regency, and not only took the opportunity of the weakness of the government to make depredations on the English, but were also encouraged to it by the heads of their party in the hope of breaking the peace between England and Scotland. When in the preceding year, in July 1567, Throgmorton, then in Scotland, complained to the Lords of the turbulence of the Scottish borderers, their answer was:—

“ My Lord Ambassador, as unto the matter of the borders, the Lords have given as good order for them as they could devyse to all such men as have charge of them : and sure they are, that for the warden-sye of the Lord Hume, there is no man of England hath cause to complayne: the lyke they maye saye for the Easte Tyvydall, which is under the Lord of Sesforde : as unto the West Tyvydall they muste needes confesse the principall murderers of the Kinge (as the Lord of Ormeston with his adherents) be the pryncypall doers of myschief upon the borders, which they commit of purpose to bring the realmes into unquietnes, the uttermost refuge that they have now to keepe themselves from answering to the lawe here. For they know they be put to the horne, and can have no being in Scotlande, if justice take place.” Sir Nicholas adds, “ These Lordes do desyre, that the myschiefes and outrages of Bodwell’s faction be not imputed to them : for no men would gladlier put their handes to the reformation than they.”—*Letter to the Queen, 26th July, in the State Paper Office.*

† Henry Cary, son of William Cary and Lady Mary Boleyn, (the sister of Queen Anne Boleyn,) and therefore allied to the Queen by blood. He was created Baron of Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, in the 1st Eliz. and was at the present time governor of Berwick. He was also captain of the Queen’s guard, and in 1585, Lord Chamberlain. “ As he lived in a ruffling time,” says Naunton, “ so he loved sword and buckler men, and such as our fathers were wont to call men of their

Clarke, at a day of marche holden at the Rydingborne, where-at the same the Warden and the Justice Clarke, who was sent from the Regent as speciall messenger to see justice ministred for the partie of Scotland, they both there refused to answer or to make redresse, either for Ledesdall or for the Lorde of Buckcleughe, by reason, as they alledged, neither of both these two companyes were in obedyence to the authoritye. I hearing bothe the said companies so to be excepted from justice, and flatly denyed that any theyr misdemeanours wold be answered, but lefte at lybertye to spoyle, I thought I coulde no less do then to have regard thereunto in tyme. I called before me my officers of Tendall and Redesdall, with whom I tooke such order as I thought might not only seme best to meet with the said Ledesdalles and Buckcleughe, if they soughte to attempt or make any spoil upon my sovereign's subjects, within any parte of my office. And even so did I practise how I might best annoy the said Ledesdalles and the Larde of Buckcleughe, in respect of that their not being in obedience, whereby they might be forced the rather to come to order of justice, so as my sovereign's subjects under my rule might much more quietly live without feare of the robberyng them of their goods.

The matter hath bene so delte withall, as at this present I have Buckcleughe taken, and thirteen score of his company, without loss of any Englishmen, saving six that were slayne, and of the Scots many slayne and hurted. I mynd to kepe hym unto the returne of the Regent,* to see what order and justice will pursue there, and as the matter shall

hands ; of which sort he had many brave gentlemen who followed him, and yet was he not taken for a popular and dangerous person. And this is one that stood amongst the *togati*, of an honest stout heart, and such a man as upon occasion would have fought for his prince and country ; for he had the charge of the Queen's person, both in the court and in the camp at Tilbury."

* The Regent was in England attending on the commission which was to examine into the cause of Mary.

then fall forth between the authorityes of Scotland and me for the same, so shall I farther advertise your Honor thereof. As knoweth the Almighty God, who have you in his most holy kepyng. At my house, neighe Alnwick, the 14th daie of October, 1568.

Your Honor's humble to commande,

JOHN FORSTER.

SIR JOHN FORSTER TO CECIL.

It may please your Honor to be advertised, that wheras I advertised my Lord of Northefolk's grace upon the Lorde of Buckcleughe, I do understand by his Grace's letter, that my Lord Regent and my Lord of Morton are in doubte that his taking should give occassion to the breache of the borders, and procure more unquietnes; but as I have advertised his Grace therin, so I did your Honor in the like manner, that it was one evill deede well done, for before the borderers the moste parte of them stode in lyttel awe of the Regent, and wold not answer to England, but as they liste, and not according to justice. I will undertake that my Lord Regent shall fynd the borderers in better obedience than he left them, and will take in hand that the marches within my charge, and those of Scotland against me, shall continue in good quietnes, until his Lordshipp returne into Scotland. The 19th day of this instant, I met with the Lord of Cessford at Elterborne, who was in company with the Lord of Farnyherst, Sir Andrew Carr, the Sheriff of Tevydall, and other the gentlemen of that border, and have there more justice offered and done, than I have had these two yeres passed.

There was delyveries made of all the bills filed and sworne, and have appointed meetings for the answering of all the attemptats commytted and done since the meeting of the commissioners at Carlisle and Dumfrese untyll this daie.

There was at the same meeting one Sir Walter Scote, of Howepaslay, knight, a nere frende of Buckcleughe's, and there

put in a bill for the taking of Buckcleughe, and the spoiles done to his frendes, servantes, and tenants. And there before the Warden of Scotland and the rest of the gentlemen, upon opening of the occasion and manner of doing therof, the said Sir Walter Scote said the bill was not to be answered, and there was no way with the Lord of Buckcleughe and the rest but to seke by frendshipps for his and their releifes. And althoughe I meane not to let Buckcleughe home but upon bond, yet shall the matter be so used that my Lord Regent shall have no cause to myslike thereof, and that Buckcleughe shall understand he hathe and shall be better dealte withall for the Regent's sake. And where before I stode in doute of the borders, I am now assured that there shall be nothing but good quietness and justice to go forwardes. Other newes worthie of advertisement here is none, as knoweth God, who have your Honor in his most holy tuition! At my house, nighe Alnwick, the 21st of October, 1568.

Your Honor's humble to command,

JOHN FORSTER.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO CECIL.

(3 Dec. 1568.—Extract.)

I have received your letter of the 23rd by post, and another of the 25th, at Mr. Morton's hands, and you do well to admonish me to be circumspect that this Quene escape not, wher-in slyghtes you say are more suspect than force, and in this behalf it seems that your informers there are of more credit than I am, for I have feared and do rather feare force agaynst our watch that is withowte our howse, because our small number of soldiers woll not suffer it to be stronge, altho all our soldiers watch their course every fiftth nighte, that is to say, ten every nyghte, but we have three sundrie places watched within this howse, so that the watch withowte this howse can be but four at the moste: and to mete with this

danger I wold have had the other ten of Mr. Read's band, but it is over-ruled agaynst me uppon what credite I know not. But sure I am, I was not credited herin, as by her Hyghnes' answer and yours to my letters may well appeare. Nevertheless, I have given place, as reason is and duty byndes, and yet I thynk if anything shold happen amisse, my circumspection shold sooner be blamed than that the fault shold be layde where it ought.

We all agree herin, that this is an inconvenient and dangerous place for this Quene to tarry in; and in respect herof, you spake of her removing, and her removing is wished, and specially that we here shold take upon us to remove her (unwilling therto) withoute sufficient authoritie as we did from Carlylle. But as I have told you alreadie, this Quene knoweth that we had no such authoritie to remove her from Carlylle as we then by circumstance and countenance pretended, wherupon she hath playnly sayde she wold no more be so advised by us, and she also now sayth that we shall bynd her hande and foote and forcibly carrie her hence, before she wold remove further into this realme. But yet if she shall see her Majestie's precise commandment for her removing, withoute respect of her wyll, then I thynk she wold yield thereto quietly, and yet she is so loathe to remove her hence more into the realme, that as long as great wordes or great countenance may serve her, I think she wold not remove, for so she dyd at Carlylle, which is a manyfest argument that this also is no safe place for her to remayne at.

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QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Madame, whilst your cause* hath bene here treated upon, we thought it not nedefull to write any thing thereof unto you,

* After her detention in England, Mary had agreed to have her cause tried before commissioners from both sides; but when she saw

supposing alwayes that your commissioners wold thereof advertise as they saw cause; and sithen they have broken this conference, by refusing to make answer, as they say, by your commandement, and for that purpose they returne to you, although we thinke you shall by them perceive the whole proceeding, yet we cannot but let you understand by these our letters, that as we have bene very sory of long tyme, for your mishappes and great troubles, so find we our sorrowes now doubled in beholding such thinges as are produced to prove yourself cause of all the same. And our grief herein is increased, in that we did not thinke at any tyme, to have seen or heard such matter of so greate apparaunces and moment to charge and condempne you. Nevertheles, both in frendship, nature, and justice, we are moved to cover these maters, and stay our judgement, and not to gather any sense therof to your prejudice, before we may heare of your direct answer therunto, according as your commissioners understand our meaning to be, which at their request is delivered to them in writing. And as we trust they will advise you for your honor to agree to make answer, as we have mentioned them, so surely we cannot but as one prynce and near cousine regarding another, most earnestly as we may in termes of frendship require and charge you not to forbear from answering. And for our part we are heartely sory and dismayed to finde suche matter of your charge, so shall we be as heartely gladde and well content to here of sufficient matter for your discharge; and although we doubt not, you are well certified of the diligence and care of your ministers having your commission, yet can we, not besides an allowance generallie of them, specially note to you your good choice of the bearer the Bishoppe of Rosse, who hathe not onely faithfully and wisely, but also so carefully and dutifully, for your honor and

that evidence was brought against her which she had hoped would have been concealed, she caused her commissioners to break the conference, upon which Elizabeth wrote to her the present letter.

weale, behaved himself, and that both privately and publikely, as we cannot but in this sorte commende him unto you as we wishe you had suche devoted discrete servants; for in our judgement, we thinke, ye have not any in loyalty and faithfulness overmatche him: and thus we are the bolder to write, considering we take it the beste triall of a good servaunte, to be in adversitie, out of which we wish you to be delivered, by the justification of your innocency. And so trusting to heare shortly from you, we make an ende. Given at Hampton Court, under our signet, the 21st of December, 1568, in the eleventh yeare of our reigne.

Your good Sistar and Cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

SIR HENRY NORRIS TO CECIL.*

Considering, right honorable, the aptnes of this tyme, I thought it my bounden duty to advertise your Honor that it is determined, as I can learne, not to ende the controversy by battaile, if it may be, but rather by delayes to weary the adverse partie, which pollicie what it may do in continuance of tyme, God knoweth, wherefore the aforesaid consydered as also the importance of the thing not only in this realme, but to all other favourers of God's cause, I wish your Honor to consider of it, whether now the demand of Callice were not verie expedient, and surely, Sir, (under your Honor's correc-

* The religious war in France during the year 1569, raged with great violence. This, commonly known as the third civil war, originated in a treacherous attempt by the Queen-mother to seize upon the Prince of Condé and the Admiral Coligny. They received intelligence of their danger, fled to Rochelle, the stronghold of the Protestants, and were there joined by Jane, Queen of Navarre, with her infant son, and others of their party. The Catholics gained the victory of Jarnac, where the Prince of Condé was slain, on the 13th March, and afterwards, in the same year, that of Moncontour.

tion,) I think you should now have reason at their hands more than aforesaid, which if it did not take good effect for yourselves, yet surely in my opinion it should be a means to make peace betwixt the French King and the Protestants of France, otherwise I much doubt the service of the Prince of Condé and th' Admirall. And further, I think that so apt tyme is not to be had in our daies, this omitted. Whereof, having put your Honor in mynde, trusting you will have the same in remembrance, I leave the further consideration thereof to your most grave and wise judgment.

Sir, being the 7th of this instant at the court, an earnest suitor in the behalfe of the poore men of Mercolles who surely be in great miserie, requiring the Quene-mother to have no lesse consideration of them than the Quene's Majestie my mistresses had to a number of the King's subjectes when peace was concluded twixt their Majesties, amongst which was one John Rybault, a man of more importance for his experience and knowledge, then all these, albeit that, contrarie to his alleadgeance, being then her Highnes' pensioner, yet he sought to conveye from her Majestie certaine hostages to her great discontentation, yet notwithstanding as soone as the King her sonne did write to her Majestie in his behalf, his release was forthwith graunted, which considered, I trusted that she would not stick to graunt this her Majestie's request, being bothe reasonable and condescended unto at the concluding the peace twixt their Majesties, that the prisoners on each partie should be set at libertie. Whereunto she answered, that she thought, and was assured, that the King her sonne, who then was sicke in his bed, would not deny his good sister any thinge that he thought might be acceptable to her Majestie, and she would not faile to make him forthwith privie to my demand and request, and returne me a speedie answer, which I will not faile earnestlie to travaile in till I bringe it by Godde's helpe to some end.

It may please your Honor to be further advertised, that the 5th of this present, the Quene-mother being in the

towne at Mounser de Strosse's house, my next neighbour, she came through a close into my garden, whereof I being advertised, wente towards her, where, after she had perused the close out of which she found a dore into the fields, whereof I have a key, and was sometime wonte to passe that waie into the open fields, for which commoditie I rather hire my house, and tooke a lease thereof for yeares, then for anie other belonging to it, as also to be out of the corrupt ayre of the towne, which surely is such as none other to be compared to Paris, which after she had well viewed, she said, she muche marvailed I durst in this troublesome tyme lye so void of neighbours. Whereunto I answered, that I thought myself here under the King her sonne's protection, no lesse then if I were in the towne, trusting also that their care was no lesse of me for her Majestie's sake, whose place I here held, then anie of them of my calling within the towne, whereof she said I might be well assured. Thus ending this conversation for that present. After my negociation ended, she againe fell into talke of my house, required me I would come into the towne, where lodgings mete should be provided for me, and a verie commodious . . . lest some inconvenience growe to me from the mutinous multitude, which should be no small greife to her and the Kinge her sone, which surelie, though it shal be greatlie to my hinderance, having made my provision there, yet being by her thus warned, I must be forced, if she require further, to do it.

This courte is greatlie abashed, their King sicke, their realme divided, and the Spanishe newes latelie arrived, from whence it is now thought no suche aide shall come as was hoped, for the bruite goeth that there are three thousand roysters coming to the King under the conduct of Volardus van Mansfeilde, and eight hundreth more under the conduct of the young Count Ringrave, which, as it is said, be come to Verdon. The King of Spaine doth arme, if the late newes be not a lett thereof, eight thousand footemen, not known whither to be employed, hither or into Flanders.

The armies doth nothing worthy advertisement. Bloys is not yet wonne, though there be two great breaches, and they have indured three assaults, at which hath bene a great number loste.

The 8th of this present there came to this courte news that the Cardinall of Lorreine scaped verie hardly in Reignes,* where going into his coache he was shott at with a harquebuse, which missing him, strake one of his called Ince, an Italian, and striking him through the bodie, he fell dead, which fact was done the . . . of this present.

Thus ceasing further to trouble your Honor, I committ the same to Godd's mercifull protection.

From Paris, this 9th of February, 1568.

Your honor's assured to command,

HENRY NORREYS.

NICHOLAS WHITE† TO CECIL.

Sir, when I came to Colsell, a town in Chester way, I understood that Tutbury Castell‡ was not above half a day's journey out of my way. Finding the wind contrary, and having somewhat to say to my Lord Shrewsbury§ touching the county of Wexford, I tooke post-horses and came thither about five of the clocke in the evening, where I was very friendly received by the Earle.

The Quene of Scotts, understanding by his Lordship that

* Rheims.

† Nicholas White was the second son of Sir James White, of Waterford, and was at this time one of the council of Ireland. He was afterwards knighted, and made Master of the Rolls there.

‡ Mary was taken from Bolton to Tutbury Castle in the January of the present year, and was there placed under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

§ George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury. On the arraignment of the Duke of Norfolk, he was made Lord High Steward of England, and, after his execution, Earl Marshal. He died in 1590.

a servant of the Quene's Majesty of some credit was come to the house, semed desyrous to speak with me, and thereupon came forth of her privy chamber into the presence chamber where I was, and in very curteise manner bade me welcome, and asked of me how her good syster did. I told her Grace that the Quene's Majestie (God be praised) did very well, saving that all her felicities gave place to some natural passions of grief, which she conceived for the deathe of her kinswoman and goode servant the Lady Knollys, and how by that occasion her Highnes fell for a while from a prince wanting nothing in this world to private mourning, in which solitary estate being forgettfull of her owne helthe, she tooke colde, wherwith she was much troubled, and wherof she was well delivered.

This much paste, she hearde the Englishe service with a booke of the psalmes in Englishe in her hand, which she showed me after. When service was done, her Grace fell in talke with me of sundry matters, from six to seven of the clocke, beginning first to excuse her ill Englishe, declaring herself more willing than apt to lerne that language; how she used translations as a meane to attayne it; and that Mr. Vice-Chamberlayne* was her good schole-master. From this she returned back agayne to talk of my Lady Knollys. And after many speeches past to and fro of that gentilwoman, I, perceyving her to harpe much upon her departure, sayd, that the long absence of her husband (and specially in that article,) together with the fervency of her fever, did greatly further her end, wanting nothing els that either art or man's helpe could devise for her recovery, lying in a prince's court nere her person, where every houre her carefull eare understoode of her estate, and where also she was very often visited by her Majestie's owne comfortable presence; and sayd merely that, although her Grace were not culpable of this

* Sir Francis Knollys. Lord Burleigh has noted in his diary, on the 3rd of February, " Sir Francis Knolles came from the Scotts Quene at Tutbury. Mr. Henry Knolles went thither."

accident, yet she was the cause without which their being asunder had not hapned. She sayd she was very sory for her deathe, because she hoped well to have bene acquainted with her. "I perceyve by my Lord of Shrewesbury," sayd she, "that ye go into Irlande, which is a troublesome cuntry, to serve my sister there." "I do so, madame; and the chiefest trouble of Irland proceeds from the north of Scotland, through the Earle of Argile's supportation." Whereunto she litle answered.

I asked her how she liked her change of ayre. She sayd if it might have pleased her good syster to let her remayn where she was, she would not have removed for change of ayre this tyme of the yere; but she was the better contented therewith, because she was come so much the nerer to her good syster, whom she desyred to see above all things, if it might please her to graunte the same. I told her grace that although she had not the actual, yet she had always the effectual presence of the Quene's Majestie by her greate bounty and kindnes, who, in the opinion of us abroad in the world, did ever performe towards her the office of a gracious prince, a naturall kinswoman, a loving syster, and a faithfull frend; and howe much she had to thanke God, that, after the passing of so many perills she was safely arrived into such a realme, as where all we of the common sort demed she had good cause, through the goodnes of the Quene's Majestie, to thinke herself rather princelike entertayned, then hardly restrayned of any thing that was fit for her Grace's estate; and for my owne parte did wishe her Grace mekely to bow her mynde to God, who hath put her into this schole to learne to know him to be above kings and princes of this world; with such other lyke speeches as time and occasion then served, which she very gentilly accepted, and confessed that indede she had great cause to thanke God for sparing of her, and great cause likewise to thanke her good syster for this kindly using of her. As for contentation in this her present

estate, she would not require it at God's hands, but only patience, which she humbly prayd him to give her.

I asked her Grace, since the weather did cut of all exercises abroad, how she passed the tyme within. She sayd that all the day she wrought with her needil, and that the diversitie of the colors made the worke seme lesse tedious, and continued so long at it till very payn did make her to give over; and with that layd her hand upon her left syde and complayned of an old grief newly increased there. Upon this occasion she entered into a prety disputable comparison betwene karving, painting, and working with the needil, affirming painting in her owne opinion for the most commendable qualitie. I answered her Grace, I could skill of neither of them, but that I have read *Pictura to be veritas falsa*. With this she closed up her talke, and bidding me farewell, retyred into her privy chamber.

She sayd nothing directly of yourself to me. Nevertheles, I have found that which at my first entrance into her presence chamber I imagined, which was, that her servant Bethun had given her some privye note of me; for as sone as he espied me, he forsake our acquayntance at courte, and repaired straight into her privy chamber, and from that forthe we could never see him. But after supper, Mr. Harry Knollys and I fell into close conference, and he, among other things, told me how loathe the Quene was to leave Bolton Castell, not sparing to give forthe in speeche that the Secretary* was her enemy, and that she mistrusted by this removing he would cause her to be made away; and that her danger was so much the more, because there was one dwelling very nere Tutbery, which pretended title in succession to the crowne of England, meaning the Erle of Huntingdon.† But when

* Cecil.

† Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon, whom we shall meet with a little later as president of the council of the North. He was descended by his mother's side from George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. He died Dec. 14, 1595.

her passion was past, as he told me, she sayd that tho the Secretary were not her frend, yet she must say that he was an experte wise man, a mayntayner of all good lawes for the governement of this realme, and a faithful servant to his mistres, wishing it might be her luck to get the frendship of so wise a man.

Sir, I durst take upon my deathe to justifie, what manner of man Sir William Cecill is, but I knowe not whence this opinion procedes. The living of God preserve her life long, whom you serve in singlenes of heart, and make all her desired successors to become her predecessors. *

But, if I, which in the sight of God beare the Quene's Majestie a naturall love besyde my bounden dutie, might give advise, there should be very few subjects in this land have accesse to or conference with this lady. For beside that she is a goodly personage, and yet in truth not comparable to our soverain, she hath withall an alluring grace, a prety Scottishe accente, and a searching wit, clouded with myldnes. Fame might move some to relieve her, and glory joyned to gayn might stir others to adventure much for her sake. Then joy is a lively infective sense, and carieth many persuasions to the heart, which ruleth all the reste. Myne owne affection by seeing the Quene's Majestie our soverain is doubled, and thereby I guess what sight might worke in others. Her hair of itself is black, and yet Mr. Knollys told me that she wears hair of sundry colors.

In loking upon her cloth of estate, I noted this sentence embrodred, *En ma fin est mon commencement*, which is a ryddil I understande not. The greatest personage in house about her is the Lord of Levenston and the Lady his wyfe, which is a fayre gentilwoman, and it was told me both Protestants. She hath nine women more, fiftie persons in house-

* Nicholas White's expression is somewhat obscure—he wishes that all who desire by Elizabeth's death to occupy her place, may die before her.

hold, with ten horses. The Busshope of Rosse lay then thre myles off in a towne called Burton-upon-Trent, with another Scottishe lorde,* whose name I have forgotten. My Lord of Shrewesbury is very carefull of his charge, but the Quene over-watches them all, for it is one of the clocke at least every night ere she go to bed.

The next morning I was up timely, and viewing the scite of the house, which in myne opinion standes much like Windesor, I espied two halbard men without the castell wall searching underneathe the Quene's bed-chamber windowe.

Thus have I troubled your Honor with rehersall of this long colloquy hapned betweene the Quene of Scotts and me, and yet had I rather in my owne fancy adventure thus to encomber you, then leave it unreported, as near as my memory could serve me, though the greatest part of our communication was in the presence of my Lord of Shrewesbury and Mr. Harry Knollys; praying you to beare with me therein, among the number of those that load you with long frivolous letters. And so I humbly take my leave, awaiting an easterly winde. From West Chester, the 26th of February.

All these cuntreys which I have past from London to the sea bank lie in great welthe and quietness; each man increaseth his owne, and no degree dare offend the law. They pray for the Quene with an universall voyce, and that peace may continue. Here is a faction in Chesshire betwene Sir Hughe Chamley† and Sir Edward Fitten,‡ which hath made

* The Bishop of Ross is said to have chosen Burton for his residence that he might be less under the surveillance of the Earl of Shrewsbury's servants and retainers. The Lord, whose name White had forgotten, was perhaps Lord Kilwynnie.

† Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, of Cholmondeley in Cheshire, who died in 1596, and was buried at Malpas, in the said county, where his monument is still preserved.—See *Ormerod's Cheshire*.

‡ Sir Edward Fitton, of Gawsorth, in Cheshire, who was shortly after this made Lord President of Connaught and Thomond, and was afterwards Treasurer of Ireland. He was buried in St. Patrick's Church, in Dublin, September 21, 1579.

some division. I would have written to my Lord of Leycester, but that this messenger could not stay.

Your Honor's assuredly to command,

N. WHITE.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO RANDOLPH.*

Mr. Randolphe, I cannot ofte send though I have ofte deysyred to hear from you. I trust you be well, and I pray God we may shortly see you here. The newes of the beginning of these troubles in Fraunce and suche lyke I wrote unto you at length, which I doubt not is come to your hands before this. How they have continued since you shall briefly hear.

The King hathe bene these two monethes about Metz in Lorraine, to empeache the entry of the Duke of Bipount† who is set forward by the common assent of all the princes Protestants in Germany, with twelve thousand horsemen, and twenty-five thousand footemen, to assiste the Protestants in France, and to make some final end of their garboyles. The King's brother, Monsieur D'Anjou, doth lye lykewise with an army in another quarter, uppon the ryver of Loire, to make head against the Prince and the Admiral, who possesseth the Poictou, Rochelle, and the countrey thereabouts. To whose ayd the Viscounte of Montalban, with an army of ten thousand men, are coming, and I think by this are joyned. But the Prince and the Admirall going to receive them with certaine horsemen and no footemen, were sette uppon by the way, by the King's brother, and his power besyde Coignac, the thirtene day of Marche last; in which conflicte was slayne on both syde, as we heare not above foure hundred men. And the Prince of Condé‡ through his overmuch hardines and little

* Randolph was at this time employed on an embassy to the Emperor of Moscovy.

† The Duke of Deux Ponts, who died near Limoges in June.

‡ Lewis, Prince of Condé, who headed the Huguenots.

regard to follow the Admirall's advise had there his arme broken with a courrire shotte, and so being overthrowen from his hors, was taken and after murthered, as it is credibly reported.

Robert Stuart, Chastellier, and certaine other worthy gentlemen to the number of six were lykewise taken and slayne, as the French tearme it, *de sang froid*.

The Admirall continueth still strong in the field, and doth make accompte to joyn shortely with the Duke of Bipount, who is already passed the ryver of Soane, in Burgundy, maulger the Duke D'Aumalle's heade, from whom he hath taken his artillerie. The Queen of Navarre is at Rochelle, and her sonne the Prince is in the field with the Admirall, under whose name and creditte all things shall passe from henceforth, as it did while the Prince of Condé was alyve. The Vidasme of Chartres, with his wife and familie, is come into England uppon a snuffe, having shewed himself in this last action neither fishe nor fleshe.

Hitherto of Fraunce, now of Flaunders: the Duke of Alva hathe ruffled with us ever since Christmas, and not only emprisoned our merchants, but also stayed their goods and shippes, whereuppon the Quene's Majestie hathe done the lyke here, and stayed certayne treasure which by force of weather was dryven uppon the west coast. She hathe likewise armed forthe certayne of her shippes to keepe the narrow seas, which have taken dyvers of their hulks and therin greate substance and treasure, all which is surely kept uppon a reckoning till we may see howe matters will fall out betwixt us and them.

Now a little of Scotland. The Regent having agreed in March with the Quene of Scotland's friends (who had assembled a greate power against hym, thinking to put all to a day), hathe sithens discovered by good meanes it was but a practise to entrappe him, and to work the undoing of him and his friends. Whereuppon not without good advise he hath prevented their determinations therin, and so wisely handled the matter as the Duke of Chastillerault, the Lord Herrys, and certaine

other of the chiefe of that partye be apprehended and committed, as we heare, to Edinburghe castle, where they are like to remayne, I fear me, without meanes to helpe themselves or the Queene, who, God knowes, hathe broken all the strings of her bowe.

For lacke of other matter, I end ; and for your farewell, pray you to accept my hartly commendations.

From the Courte, the first of May, 1569.

Your assured friend,

R. LEYCESTER.

Postscript.—You have lost of late two of your good friends, that is to say my Lady Knollis and Tamworthe.

LORD WINDSOR * TO CECIL.

Considering by my former letters unto you, that of my well or evill doing in this my voiage, I wolde make you partaker, as one of the chiefe of my good friendes ; these are to let you understande, that the 9th of May I arived at Naples from Malta, the sighte wherof, considering the honorable companie of the Lord Great Master with the caveleridge, (being of all nations of Christendome some,) the old ruins of the late siege by the Turke, which unto this presente are monstrous, and laste of all, the notable stronge and famous fortress of newe made and begun by that honorable great master, Signor de Valetta, did yield unto me some recompense, considering the trouble and travaile had before in Sicillia. The which arose in respecte I was an Englishman, and affirmed, according to my duty, upon my examination, myself subjecte and servante unto the Quene of Englande, and none les, and a forristeiro ; whiche, since my coming into those countries, had

* Sir Edward Windsor, third Lord Windsor, who married Lady Catharine Vere, daughter of John, sixteenth Earl of Oxford, by his first wife Dorothy Neville, daughter of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Windsor passed much of his time abroad, and was said to be a rigid papist. He died in January, 1575.

behaved my selfe as becomed me in al respectes. I was answered, the name of an Englishman, and servant to that Quene, &c. was enofe for my imprisonment; but there was more matter to be laid unto me. I answered, my imprisonmente, considering it was in respecte of my sovereign Lady, was nothyng unto me, considering I was ready and willing to receive ten times more then that, and wold not think myself but happy in so doing. Then he turned his phrase of talke of the Quene's Majesty, and said ther was other matters to be answered, &c. But for the space of six wekes I had not of myn own servantes to wayte on me, not so moche as a page, but were severally imprisoned, and in th'end by God's helpe delivered. After which tyme, I required to have audiense of the Vise-rei, Marques of Piscare, (whom I knew in England,) who, upon the speaking with me, used me very honorably, causing his captaine of the guard to attend upon me, if I wanted anything.

Afterward I was visited at my lodging with the Marques Davola, son and heire unto the Prinsipe de Terra Nova: and in his company Don Gaione de Cardona, Generalle of the Gallies of Sicilia, and invited several dayes, nowe unto one prince, then unto another, for the time I tarried, which was not long.

After which time I wold in no wise be discouraged touching my journey to Malta. Wherefore I wente by land to the nighest place of passage, which was from Palermo to Puesalla, and being at Puesalla, a tower by the sea-side, where I expecting a gally from Malta, for in sighte daily I mighte see the fighte betwene Christians and Turkes, and for the moste parte the Christians have the worse, for in my sighte there were two shipes taken, the patrones whereof scaping by the skiff, came to that tower, my abode there, as me thoughte, was very long, whiche was for the space of twenty-six dayes.

And for that it shold not be said an Englishman to come so far to see Malta, and to have turned back againe, (*come*

una core di gallina,) I determined rather with a frigate of fiftene oares, making my sepulker of that golfe, rather then to have returned in that manner, and even so passed that canell, by God's helpe, in safty to Malta, upon Good Friday : where I was very honorably used, and have brought divers plotts of the old burgo and the newe cittie, which I reserve in store to bestowe upon you, at my coming nearer my country.

The advises here of the eightene gallies, wherin the Commendator Magior and Marco Antonio Collonna and Pompei Collonna, with the tiers of Naples, by reason of tempeste, the moste parte of them be drowned, and those that have scaped the danger of drowning, so spoyled with the tempest, that they were faine to caste out all things ; so as fewe men in those gallies which were driven to land, as some in one place called le Isola Pantilaria, where arrived a gally, the maste, the oars broken, and not above fiftene men lefte alive, the tempest continued so long. It is reported, that Mark Antonio Collonna and the Commendator Magor be safe, and arived in Spaine.

The Arche-Duke Charles is arived in Italie, and hath ben at Florens received with great honor. From thens wente to Ferrara, where was notable triumphs and great rejoicing of all partes. From thense the Duke meaning prively to go to Venise, and not to be knowen, was, notwithstanding, greatly honored, from whence, as it is reported, he returnes unto th'emperor.

As touching my determination here in Italli, my meaning was to have gone unto the baines of Luka in my returne this spring ; but by reason it was so longe before my coming to Naples, the heates growing so far on, that the baines of Luka for this time do not serve to any good effecte, I meane, by God's grace, to pas the nexte way to Siena, where, as I understand, is the moste temperate air in all these partes of Itali, and there to remaine until the latter end of Auguste, and so to Padovai on sea againe, to those baines wherof I have founde so much good, as I truste to be a sound man, by my returne, of

that disese. And thus moste humbly thanking you for your favor extended to me in my absence, which doth not only bind me to serve you, but al my house, I humbly end. Written at Naples, being ready to sette my foote in stirope this next morning, the 16th of May, 1569.

Your assured to commande,

EDWARDE WINDESOR.

LORD WINDSOR TO CECIL.

Mr. Secretarie, passing from Naples to Rome, where for the reserving of my mony in banke, as also for the sighte of the antigallias, I remained about nine or ten dayes, and being nowe arived at Sienna in Tuscana, I am the bolder to write of suche avises and occurrences as are in these parties, as well touching my Sovereign Lady, as also of the good and safe government of our state and contrie, &c. Being in Rome the night before I toke my jorny, having conference with a Roman of the state of France, he grewe further to touche England, and being somewhat moved, burst out and said, our Sovereigne Lady and mistris was no Quene. Whereupon I answered, "How can that be?" He replied, and said, "for that the Pope in consistory had denounced her to be any more Quene." I answered, as far as I durst in that place, "Do you thinke therby to make the Quene of England not to esteeme of herself as Quene, for this matter?" "Aye, verily," said he, "for further matters depended of it." I asked, "What be those?" "By this menace, being denounced by the Pope, it is lawfull for all forrein Princes to do what in them lieth, for the attaining of that kingdom; and thereby doth give license and pardon unto al men, who shal seeme to worke any treason towards her Majestie's person, and thinkes it a meritorious acte in those who shall do it," with divers other the like manner of talke, &c.

I being her Majestie's dutifull subjecte, could do no lesse but

advertise this matter unto such a one of her counsell, who hath bothe care of her Majestie's person and of the realme, to give her Highnes to understande, that as she is a noble, courteous, and a familiar princes, to have good regard to her person ; and also to the foresight of those matters pretended, &c.

I meane a littel nowe to touche of the reportes ; as touching England, first, it is reported the Quene's Majesty to be well beforehand, by the having in her custody so many ships of merchandises and treasure, as will maintaine warres a good while. Secondly, that the army of the Duke de Duo Ponte, is maintained by our Quene, and that the Duke, with his army, is sworne to our mistris, whereupon is like to fall out presente warre, &c. On the other side, if the Duke de Duo Ponte do not well in France, and that the King be once settled, then have at England at al handes ; for the which cause I doubt not but the wise and grave counsell of England doth forsee it, &c.

Of the matters of Spaine you have further advises then be here. Howsoever the matter goeth, I knowe not ; but oute of Sissillia and Naples are gon in effecte all the soldiers towardes Spaine, and the greater part of them are perished by the way, so as in mine opinion there are not lefte neither in the kingdom of Naples, nor Sisilia, fiftene hundred soldiers, besides those which kepe the castelles, which never stir from their charge, so as, if the Turke were not occupied at home, a small army wold do great hurte in Christendome. The newes from Naples this laste poste was, that the Vise-rei lay at the pointe of deathe, if he be not dead. Italy is nowe in great quietnes, saving that the Duke of Florens, as is reported, hath entertained five thousand Almaines, which are looked for in Tuscana shortly, to what end is not yet known.

The heates were so great in my passage from Naples to Sienna, as for my parte I was never more gladder then when I was arived there, where I mean to remaine untill the latter

end of Auguste. And thus craving pardon, if I have waded any further than becomes me, for that the good meaning of men are to be considered, I humbly end. From Sienna, this 15 of June, 1569.

Yours moste assured,

EDWARD WINDESOR.

CECIL TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX. *

It may please your good Lordship, at this present I have no great matter, but partly to visit you with my letters, and to lett you know how by posting of a servant of my Lady Zouche's to me on Monday last, with knowledg of the Lord Zouch's death on Saturday, there chanced a tale to be mistold to my Lord of Leicester at Westminster, that my Lord of Hunsdon's servant was come post with news of his lord and master's death, so that it was almost two dayes ere it could be righted and duly receaved what was trew. Even now indeede we have knowledg of my Lord of Shrewsbury's dangerous relapse into his palsey, and with that *in deliquio animi*. God comfort hym!

From France we look certainly to heare of some battell, for so must the French King offer it to kepe asunder the Almayns and the Admiral, the Almayns beyng near Lymoges, at a town called Soubzterron, and the Admyral within four leagues of Lymoges, the King's camp at Burges in Berry. And thus I end with my humble commendations to my Lady. From Grenwyck, the 22 of June, 1569.

Your Lordship's at command,

W. CECILL.

* Who was at this time acting as Lord President of the North.

THE EARL OF MURRAY TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My verie gude Lord, after maist hertie commendations, having occasion to send halkis¹ to the courte, I have thoct gude to present your Lordship with a tarsell and a falcoun, and hes commanded the berer to deliver the same be the way. Trusting your Lordship will accepte them in gude parte, as of him quhom your Lordship may use and employ in anything I can in my power, quherof your Lordship sall have gudeproof quhensover it sall please you put me to charge. And thus leaving your Lordship further untroubled at this present, committing you to the tuition of God. At Sanct Andrew's, the 17th of August, 1569.

Your Lordship's richt assured to his power,
JAMES, Regent.

CECIL TO NICHOLAS WHITE.

Sir, this 7th of September your long letter of the first, and the less of the 3rd cam to me for many respects gratefully, first for the sender and the testimony of his good wyll, wherof I cannot dowt, because I mesure it by myne owne. The next was for signification of the Butlers stouping to the Erle their brother*, and the good success of the Lord Deputy, of which

¹ Hawks.

* Under the year 1569, Camden tells us that "Edmund and Pêter Boteler, the Earle of Ormond's brethren, who had injuriously oppessed their neighbours in Munster, refused to obey the lawes, prosecuting the good subjects with fire and sword, and entered into a confederacy with James Fitz-Morris, of the house of Desmond, Macarti-More, Fitz-Edmund senescall of Imokelly, and others, who, with the Bishop of Rome and the Spaniard, laboured all they could for maintenance of their religion, and to thrust Queene Elizabeth out of her kingdome of Ireland. Whereupon they were proclaimed traytors, and Sir Peter Carew, the elder, skirmished with them

two matters we all were made very dowlfull by letters from the counsell at Dublin of the 30th of August, who made all things almost desperate; first, that they could never heare from the Deputy, nor know nothing of his estate; next that the Butlers increased their rebellion, and wold not cease upon the Erle's motions to them; that the rebells in the north were coming to invade the English pale; that the power of the pale was not able to withstande both the north and the Butlers; but yet they wold attend to the north, and leave the Butlers; with many such uncomfortable advertisements, wherewith we being here perplexed, your letters hath somewhat relieved us, and I hope hourly to heare from the Lord Deputy.

I cannot presently with multitude of words express my good lykyng of your letters, by which I see as in a glass yourself represented as I take it, sick in body, and grieved in mynd, but whole in wisdom and constancy. Seeing Almighty God doth suffer you to be so sharply touched as few other, you have the more cause to acknowledg his goodnes in giving you a larger measure of constancy and pacience than of troubles. Although by your troubles you are made the poorer, yet you are not the less honest, but truly as well thought of here amongst us, as any of the contrey. Pluck up your heart, and be assured, your virtue may be pressed, it will not be oppressed.

sundry times with variable fortune. Neverthelesse, having gathered together certaine companies of lewde people, they besieged Kilkenny, and commanded the citizens to deliver Warham Saint-Leger's wife into their hands. But being repulsed by the garrison soldiers, which sallied upon them, they pitifully spoyled the country round about. To kindle the flame of this rebellion, there came privily from the Spaniard, Juan Mendoza; and out of England to quench it came the Earle of Ormond, who perswaded his brethren so as they submitted themselves."

At the same time, in the north, Turlogh Leinigh raised the standard of rebellion in Ulster, who was only hindered from becoming formidable by the incursions of the Scottish islanders in his own country.

I have bene pressed with such kynd offers of my Lord Deputie,* and with the lyke of my Lord of Leicester, as I have accorded with hym uppon articles by a manner of A. B. without any persons named, that if P. S. and A. C. hereafter shall lyke to marry, then shall H. S., the father of P. S., make assurances, &c.; and then also shall W. C., the father of A. C., paye, &c. If you speke to John Thomas, pray him to shew them. †

What may follow I know not, but as I wish P. S. full liberty, so surely A. C. shall have it, and in the meantyme I will omitt no poynnt of frendshipp.

You may heare plentefully of a marriadg intended with the Quene of Scotts here with us, but howsoever you have it, I can assure you the Quene's Majesty at this present so mislyketh it, as I know nobody dare deale therin. And the principall party‡ with us here, doth cease, having had a contentation therin, if the Quene's good will might be had, but not otherwise.

In France the admyrall's power excedeth the King's. He is sieging of Poyters, the wyunning or losing wherof will make an end of the cause.

He is enterd within the towne by assault, but the Duke of Guise, &c. are intrenched in a stronger part of the towne; and without the King gyve a battel, it is thought he cannot escape from the Admyrall.

I send you a printed letter of truth. § Fare you well, and

* Sir Henry Sydney.

† These initials are easily filled up by P[hilip] S[ydney], A[nn] C[ecil], H[enry] S[ydney], and W[illiam] C[ecil]. Sir Philip was nephew of the Earl of Leicester.

‡ The Duke of Norfolk.

§ It is generally considered as a question settled by Chalmers, that the first printed newspapers in England, were published at the period of the threatened invasion by the Spanish Armada in 1588, when the government issued "The English Mercurie, published by authoritie for prevention of false reportes." This, however, appears to be one of the many cases where people have been led to fix erroneously the first

by my next I will acquit your long letters with some further wryting.

At Southampton, the 8th of Sept. 1569.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

My Lord of Leicester is nearly recovered of an ague which held hym twelve dayes.

JOHN FOX TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.*

May it it please your Grace, ther is a great rumor with us here in London, and so far spread, that it is in every man's

invention of a thing at a particular time, because they have not found earlier mention of it. The Mercury of 1588, was probably only the adoption by government of a practice which had already become general, and in this letter we have mention of a printed paper of news, almost twenty years earlier. It is curious enough that the primitive name of news-paper should have outlived all others. Under the title of Mercuries and Intelligencers they were multiplied exceedingly during the Commonwealth. The Oxford Gazette, which four months afterwards became the London Gazette, began in Nov. 1665.

The term *Gazette* is said to be derived from the Italian *gazetta*, the name of a small piece of money, which was in Italy the established price of a letter of news written by the hand. The first known periodical published under this title, was one in France, by Theophraste Renaudot, in 1631.

* This letter was written to the Duke of Norfolk on the first rumours of his project of marriage with the Queen of Scots. There can now be little doubt, from a comparison of English and foreign documents relative to the history of this period, that the Duke of Norfolk had suffered himself to be drawn into an extensive and formidable plot against his sovereign, in the event of its success, his reward to be the hand of Mary, who then would be Queen of England. From the great secrecy kept by everybody concerned in it, the Duke was not at this time suspected of any other designs but the simple marriage, which he had partly communicated in private to some of the nobles, and even to Cecil himself.

When Elizabeth summoned him to court, he kept away under pre-

mouth almost, of your marriage with the Scottish Quene, which rumor as I trust to be false, so would I be sorry that it should be true, for two respects. The one, for the good will I beare to you, the other for the love I beare to the Commonwealth, for that I see no other, and many besides me, do so no lesse, but the day of that marriage, whensoever it beginneth, will end with such a catastrophe as wil be either ruinous to yourself, or dangerous to the tranquillity of the realme, the peace wherof standing so long amongst us through the great mercy of God, God forbid it should now begin to break by you. Your Grace knoweth what enemies we have, both within and without, against whom we have always trusted, and do yet trust, next under God and the Quene, to have you a sure Scipio unto us ; to the contrary whereof, these rumors cannot perswade me, but that as you have vertuously begun, so by the Lord's grace you will constantly continue still. However, since the noise and clamour of the people maketh me somewhat to muse, and because true love is alwayes full of feare, I beseech you lett me say to you what I thinke in this matter, that in case you take this way to marry with this lady in our Quene's days, it will in the end turne you to no great good. I beseech you, therefore, for God's sake, be circumspect, and marke well what they be, that sett you on this worke, and whereunto they shoote. There is no greater cunning in these days, than to knowe whom a man may trust ; examples you have enough, within the compasse of your own

tences, sometimes of illness, and at others of fear, until at last he obeyed the Queen's peremptory command, and was committed to the Tower early in October, where he remained till the August of the year following.

John Fox was born in 1517, at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and was afterwards fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford. During the reign of Queen Mary, he sought refuge at Basil from the persecution of his enemy, Bishop Gardiner. He had been tutor to the Duke of Norfolk, who on his return after the accession of Elizabeth, patronised him during his life, and at his death left him a pension.

days, wherby you may learne, what noblemen have been cast away by them, whom they seemed most to trust. Remember I pray you the example of Mephibosheth, wherof I told you being yong; howe first he was underfoote, then again*

* * * * *

THE EARL OF SUSSEX TO CECIL.†

Sir, by your letters of the 6th of this present receyved yesterdaye, I perceiue you have heard that I have bene no small worker in the matter of the Scottishe Quene's marriage, and yet you assured yourself that my intent was honorable and loyal as you have found my Lord of Norfolk's to be, for he made you privy to the matter. And in th'end you require me ever to deale plainely with you, or not to deale at all; but if I should varye with you, the hurte might me yours, but the dishonour should be myne.

For your good opinion in regard of my intent I moste heartily thank you, and surely I will not gyve you cause to remove from it.

My Lord of Norfolk, as I wrate in my former letters, sent me word by Cantrell (since my going from Berwick) that th'erles of Arundell, Pembroke, and Leicester, had earnestly moved him to marrye the Scottish Quene, whereupon he required my advise as a frend whom he trusted. Whereunto I

* The MS. which is Fox's draught of the letter, ends thus abruptly.

† "When now," says Camden, "the rumour of the marriage waxed more and more rife, new suspicions were gathered from all parts, and Cecil, who always attended most carefully to the safety of the Commonwealth and religion, bent his mind most diligently to sift out the matter. By his letters, therefore, he dealt with Sussex, Lord President of the North, who was most inward with the Duke, and most nearly tyed unto him in friendship, that if he understood anything of the Duke's marriage, he should advise the Queene thereof. *What answer he made I know not.*" The letter here printed, which is quite characteristic of the high spirit of the Earl of Sussex, is that which escaped the researches of Camden.

answered, that I would gyve no advise untill I firste knew how the Quene's Majestie lyked of it, and thereupon I still depend. And if any person have at any time said otherwise of me, or that I knew thereof sooner, or know more than I wryte to you, or ever dealt further therein, I saye in playne terms he hathe sayd untruely, and by this you may understand my works.

I am glad you fynde my Lord of Norfolk's intent (for he made you privie to this matter) to be honorable and loyall, from which I truste he will not digresse in this or any other matter. And truely I knowe no further of his intent than I have wrytten.

If the Quene's Majestie had in tyme married with the Archduke Charles, which you wryte she now uttereth her disposition, it had bene the beste waye for her suretye, but that matter hath bene so handled, as on the one syde it is desperate that her Majesty will *bona fide* intend to marrye, and on the other syde, dowtefull whether upon the hard dealings paste that some may be induced to any further talke, wherein God work in her hearte to do that maye be moste for her honor and surety.

I have wrytten playnely, I do write playnely, and I will write playnely to you, for as by my dealing with you, you shall take no hurte, nor I dishonour, and truely I will not varye from my writings, for with my prynce and my frend I deale *bona fide*, and know no cunning nor wyll learne none, and thereof you may be entirely assured, and the lyke whereof I do assure myself I may from you.

My conscience shal be at God's direction, my hearte and hand at the Quene's commandement, and all that with duety and honesty I may do at my frends devotion. And so I end, and wyshe to you as to myself.

From Cawood,* 11th September, 1569.

Yours assuredly,

T. SUSSEX.

* A town about ten miles from York.

SIR WILLIAM DRURY TO CECIL.

It may please your Honor to be advertised, that according unto her Majestie's commandment, I am come hither, fynding already in this tyme a great change amongst our neighbours in Scotland, the same being cheefely growen by having bene assured by certain of theyre Quene's retorne and restorement to her former dignities, which dayly they have expected, which nowe they are in lesse hope of, and thereby, lyke themselves, begyn a little to slack in the wynde and staye theyre former course.

There is some drynes grown of Grange's parte towards the Regente, which Ledingeton dothe no what seeke to lett.¹ At the Regente's laste being in Edenborough, Grange refused to come out of the castell unto hym, for that th'earle Morton was in his company, who receaves now at Dawkethe,² muche hated of all Ledingeton's faction. The Regente's comyng to the borders was not now looked for, and with so small a number the Lord Hume hathe receyved hym into Hume castle, and hathe ben often with hym at Kelssye; but one howse wyll not hold them twayne if Morton be thirde person. There hathe of late bene dyvers letters sent into England, and from thence into Scotland. There is now stayed and is here one of their carriers, Dan Carre, of Scheyldstoke Brayes, who was one of them here in the boundes at the kylling of the skowte, at my Lord's first entrye into thys charge. He hath bene from his youthe a thiefe and a murderer, and these three yeres paste an owtelaw.

Either his staye here, or his delyverie unto the Regente to answer the evils he hathe done unto England, wold well contente the true borderers of bothe the realmes.

There was a meane devised to have caught all the Humes, but the same is broken. The fyre that is kindled betweene

¹ Hinder, abate.

² Dalkeith.

the Earle Morton and the Lord of Ledingeton and theirs, wyll not withoute blood be quenched; neyther partie wyll refuse any frend to take parte.

The Earle of Cassells hath bene with the Regente at Kels-sye. The gentlemen of the marches are divided, so have they bene and wyl be contynued upon a small occasion.

I have already had with me messengers from eyther sydes, as also from the newters, to have conference with me, which yet I have refused, alledging busynes.

This berer Capten Jacksley, my frend and alye, and of long contynuance in service, being of my Lord Governor well favored, and now for hys good taken up by his Lordship to the courte, for the obteyning of some lyttell sute he hathe to the Quene's Majestie, I am humbly to desyre your Honor's furtherance theryn, and so with my dutie I pray God ever to preserve you.

From Barwyke, the 30th of September, 1569.

Your Honor's ever assuredly at commandment,

WILLIAM DRURY.

SIR WILLIAM DRURY TO CECIL.

It may please your Honor to be advertised, that this day the Abbot of Dumfermylyne with eight persons in his company, from Kelssye, where the Regente is, dothe take his journey by poste through the myddell marches towards the courte, with answer to such heades as were propounded at theyre convention. The Lord of Grange is now by consente Provoste of Edenborough, and is now looked for at Kelssye; and the Regente assures hymself of hym as much as he hathe before.

Dumbarten was promised to be relieved the 15th of the laste, by theyr Quene, whose coming shortely into Scotland is of some looked for. And so for this present I commit

your Honor to God's tuition, looking for answer as well for the soldiers that the Regente desyres to accompany hym to Lyddysdale, as what shall be done with Dan Carre of Shyltoke Brayes, who hathe many wayes injured and harmed England.

From Barwyke, this 4th of October, 1569.

Your Honor's humble assured at commandment,

WILLIAM DRURY.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON TO CECIL.

Sir, I thanke you that ye are desirous to heare of my healthe. I thank Godde I am well *pro meo more*, and my howseholde is also well. I have not written to you of late, because I wolde not trouble you, being otherwise occupied in affayres of greatest importance.

I and such other poore men pray daylie unto Godde, that he maye give unto you, my Lords, and you of the counsell, the spirit of wisdome and fortitude, that you may *bene explicare consilia* for the Quene's Majestie's safetie and suretie.

Yesternighte I received a letter from London, wherin wer written these wordes following:—

“The Bishop of Rosse* ministered this daye in Pawle's church, in a gowne of damaske, with a greate rowte about him, and attending upon him, as it wer to be seen and known to the worlde,” &c. &c. What may be gathered of suche doings I referre to your judgement.

I have done for the Chancellor of Peterborowe as you wished me. I praye you helpe to gett me discharged of myne Irishe gieste, whose petition I sende you herewith. In myne opinion (under your correction) it wer good he wer sente by

* The famous John Lesley, bishop of Ross, one of the most intriguing personages of his time. He had long acted as Mary's ambassador, and was busy in all the plots against Elizabeth and the Protestants.

pursyvante at his charge to my Lord Deputye, there to be ordered as you shall be sente instructions, or as my Lord Deputye and the Lord Chancellor and Bishops of the counsell there shall thynke requisite. Cypriane wolde have things ordered in the countries where the faults be committed.

Godde kepe you ! From my house at Fulham, 22 October, 1569.

Yours in Christe,

EDM. LONDON.

SIR GEORGE BOWES TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.*

The doings of th'Erles of Westmoreland and Northumber-

* On the arrest of the Duke of Norfolk, many who were partakers in the same plot, were seized with dismay. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were to raise the north country, the stronghold of the English Catholics, in the spring, and were to be joined by a body of Spaniards to be sent over by the Duke of Alva ; and already Vitelli, Marques of Catena, was arrived in London under cover of an embassy, but in truth to take the command of the Spanish forces on their landing. The Queen, ignorant of these designs, summoned the two Earls to court, who, conscience stricken, and not daring to obey her commands, entered prematurely into action. On the 15th of November, they raised their standard at Brankspeth, the splendid seat of the Earl of Westmoreland. The next day they marched to Durham, where they tore the service books in the minster, and returned the same day to Brankspeth. The next day they were at Darlington ; from the 18th to the 20th, the Earl of Northumberland was successively at Richmond, North-Allerton, and Boroughbridge ; and on this latter day the two Earls, with the Countess of Northumberland, celebrated mass at Rippon. They went thence by Boroughbridge and Wetherby towards Tadcaster. On Tuesday, the 22nd of November, they mustered on Clifford Moor to the number of sixteen hundred horsemen and four thousand footmen. In the mean time, Sir George Bowes, who had thrown himself into Barnard Castle, was mustering in their rear in the bishopric, and Sir John Forster as well as Sir Henry Percy, the brother of the Duke of Northumberland, were collecting forces for the Queen on the borders. After the muster on Clifford

land: yesterdaye, at four of the clock in the afternoone, the sayd Erles accompanied with Richard Norton*, Francys his sone, with dyvers others of hys sayd sones, Christopher Nevyll, Robert Nevyll, brother to the sayd Erle of Westmoreland, and these . . . wythe others to the number of three hundred horsemen, armed in corsetts, and . . . of plate, with speres, harquebusses, and daggers, came to Durham, and entered the mynster there, and there toke all the bokes but one, and they there the communion table defaced, rent, and broke in pieces, and after read a proclamation in the Quene's name that no man before their pleasures knowen use any service, and calling the citizens before them, tolde them they had done nothing, but that they wold allowe and was after the Queene's proceedings, and so tarying about the space of an hower, they departed, putting a watch of twenty-three townsmen to the towne, which tooke a servant of myne which I

Moor, the Earls, instead of following up their intention of marching on York, where the Earl of Sussex lay, returned hastily by Wetherby, Northallerton, and Richmond, to besiege Barnard Castle, which Sir George Bowes held gallantly against them for eleven days, and then marched out with the honours of war, and joined the Earl of Sussex. In the mean time, Sir John Forster and Sir Henry Percy, marching against the Earl of Westmoreland, who lay at Durham, "did give to the said Earle a great skirmish." On the 11th of December, the Earl of Sussex, with his forces, marched from York towards Topcliffe, and as they advanced the rebels retired from Durham to Hexam, in Northumberland, from whence, as the Queen's troops advanced, they continued their retreat into Cumberland, where, deserted by their leaders and principals, who fled into Scotland, they dispersed, every man to save himself as he could. Such is the account of this rising given by the chronicler, John Stowe.

† Old Richard Norton, of Norton Conyers, who married Susan, daughter of Richard Nevill, Lord Latimer. He had a very large family, and is said to have led all his nine sons to join the insurgents. Stowe says, that he had the honour to bear before the rebel army, "a crosse with a banner of the five wounds." When the Earls fled, Richard Norton accompanied them into Scotland, and escaped with the Earl of Westmoreland, &c. into Flanders.

sent thither, and hym carryed to his lodgings, and there he was kept till this morning, and so came away.

In haste, at Barnard Castell,* the 10th of November, at 12 of the clocke, 1569.

Your Lordship's wholly at commandment,

GEORGE BOWES.

SIR GEORGE BOWES TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My bounden duty premised, pleaseth your Lordship to be advertised, the two Earles yesterday passed to Richmond, and there made proclamation which, because of the difference of reports in some parts, I omitte to advertise, and the rest was that where there was certain councelers copen¹ in abowte the Prince which had excluded the nobility from the Prince, and had set suche lawe contrary to the honor of God and the welthe of the realme, which they meant to reforme, whereupon they had assembled themselves trusting that the people wolde take their parte, which they required, and then they doubted not but they should restore the ancient lawes, as masse and other thinges nowe laide awaye. And at Darneton² was made the like proclamation, where they offer great wages to such as will serve them, and hathe not only stayed the people in many parts of Richmondshire for assembling to me and the commissioners hither, but hathe in the Bishoprick called all the people at Darneton together, and this daye theie make their musters there, and appoint captaines to such number of fotemen as they have levyed.

They have constrained by force sundrie to follow them, as the people of Bishopton, tenants to John Conyers, my sonne-in-lawe, being ready to come forwards to serve the

* Barnard Castle belonged to the Earl of Westmoreland. It is at a very short distance from Streatham Castle, the seat of Sir George Bowes.

¹ Crept.

² Darlington.

Quene's Majestie under him here. They not only forced them to go with them, but compelled the rest of the towne, armed and unarmed, to go to Darneton, and hourelly advertisements cometh of their constraining men to serve them; and the feare is so increased that in a manner no man dare travaile. Yet, for any thing I can learne, the whole people of Richmondshire meaneth to be dutifull, but dare not assemble towards us for feare of intercepting, as one towards me is intercepted, and yet not hurte, but knowing a servant to a gentleman, tenant of myne, now sicke, they have commanded him to warn his master upon payne of spoyle that to-morrowe he be with them at Allerton. And so now they occupie much of the bottome of the cuntry, and for all that they exceeded not yesterday four hundred horsemen and five hundred fotemen, the more parte of which fotemen are clearly unarmed.

Christopher Nevell* is gone into Kirkbymoerside to raise people, and cometh thence into Cleaveland. The matter groweth verie hote, and sure in my opinion requireth to be expedited, lest what with feare or faire speche or money they drawe awaye the hearts of people. And sure besydes my owne and these appertaining, such my friends as will with me aventure all, there is not here as yet above seventy men, and manye of them not of the best furnished.

Yesterday, Francis Norton,† with the number of a hundred

* Christopher Nevill, of Hippleswell, Yorkshire, who was uncle of the Earl of Westmoreland.

† Francis Norton was the eldest son of Richard Norton, of Norton Conyers. In the old ballad of the Rising of the North, printed in Percy's Reliques, he is represented as going unwillingly with his father. When the eight younger answered readily to his call, Old Richard is represented as addressing his eldest son,—

“But what say'st thou, O Francis Norton?
Thou art mine eldest sonn and heire:
Somewhat lyes brooding in thy breast;
Whatever it be, to me declare.

horsemen, hathe enterd John Saire's house at Worsall, and therin taken his sone and some portion of armor which is not great, but much discomforteth hym for his sonne. The armour is six corsletts, two or three harquebusses, and six marryons, which he weigheth not.

This day yong Nicholas Fairfax,* with great company, hathe entred the howse of Anthony Kattericke, and taken therein his two sonnes-in-law Lambert and Mennell, which Mennell was but gone thither, meaning of the morrowe to come hither, and is a servant of th'Erle of Leicester's.

They sought for my children where they were at schole, but yesterday I brought them hyther. But in the townes in maner everie where they take awaye the people, and we come too late with our commandements, which yet we proceede with and shall the best I maye, having many things to deale in, bothe for feare of the worst, and comforting the fearefull, faynt, or false. I dowbt to get any more advertisements, but wishe that speede be made, and promiseth dutifull obedience and diligence to the full of my witts and power, and will and shall end with a dutifull and obedient heart, yielding my

Father, you are an aged man,
Your head is white, your bearde is grey ;
It were a shame at these your yeares
For you to ryse in such a fray.

Now, fye upon thee ! coward Francis,
Thou never learnedst this of mee :
When thou wert yong and tender of age,
Why did I make so much of thee ?

But, father, I will wend with you,
Unarm'd and naked will I bee ;
And he that strikes against the crowne,
Ever an ill death may he dee !"

This Francis Norton seems on some account to have received favour, for he saved some part of the family estates.

* The son of Sir Nicholas Fairfax, who went with the Earl of Northumberland to wait on the Queen of Scots at Carlisle. See before, p. 273.

breathe in truthe to every authoritie, and thus commending my service to your Lordship's directions, promising to preserve the people committed under my charge withowte any attempte but in defence, I humblye take my leave in haiste.* At Barnard Castell, the 17th of November, 1569, at nine of the clocke.

They this daye at Richmond made a great muster, but what is further done I am not yet advertised.

They use the Quene's Majestie's name in their calls, with threatning to burne such as absent themselves.

The Earle of Northumberland beareth a guyde before his troops.

Masse was yesterdaye at Darneton, and John Swynburne,† with a staffe, drove before him the poor folks to hasten them to heare the same.

After the writing hereof, two of the most substantiallest men of the towne of Richmond did come unto us, and declared the commandements that the Erle of Northumberland had given them, and how he had required first by fair speech and after by offers of money, and lastly by threats of burning and spoyling, that they sholde give hym ayde of an hundred men, but they wolde not confesse to graunt anye; lastly they had a daye given to make answer to of the morowe, at which tyme they were newly provoked, and practises made to bring them to it, but they still refused. Then it was tolde them that the moste parte of the gentlemen with me was escaped hence, and was comed to them; but fynally, after many speeches, it was requyred that they wold conduct him, being not above sixty persons, to the other Erle to Allerton, whereunto they were content to bring him to the bounds of their towne, but not further, whereupon he wold have them armed and desyred but one hundred, but they saide they wold all go, but unarmed. Whereupon they went indede to the number of three

* Sir George wrote the former letter in such haste that he directed it to the "Earl of Westmoreland," instead of the "Earl of Sussex."

† John Swinburne, of Chopwell, Durham. He was attainted.

hundred men of all sorts, and at the lymitts of their bounds they wold have departed, but there they were newly set on agayne, but it could not prevaile, and so they departed, and in going away, sundrye of the Earle's servants offred to take some stele cappes and bylles from them, but they wylled them to staye, or they shold winne them with strypes. Whereupon they all returned home. Yet the Erle at their parting sayde that if they sent hym not one hundred men to-morrowe to Benning, or at least furthest that night to Ryppon, he in his returne wold burne and spoyle the towne.

They have now by these men promised dutifull obedience, and promised to notyfy th'effecte of the commission delivered me this daye, dated yesterday, which satisfieth much people, which I earnestly seke therefore to get knowen everywhere, and order is now given for the same.

Th'Erles seme they will lye this night at Allerton, and to-morrow night at Ryppon, but my intelligence saith, whereof there is also great lykelyhode, that they will this night to Ryppon, where they are in great hope mucche to be incresed, and saieth further that they will either attempte you at York, if they like their force, or else drawe towards Lankeshire. But good my lord, looke to your owne safety, for therein lyeth all the hope of good spede of the whole affayres, and for advertisements I must now cease, for that they are drawn farr from me. Sir John Nevell* hath promised to meete them at Ryppon, and they want much of others also, but they will staye.

Muche of small occasion sure their threats be great towards me, promising upon their returne to assaulte me; but I truste by Godde's helpe the old adage in them shal be verified, "God sendeth an evill-wylled cowe short horns." Fynally, for truthe, this daye at noone they no way, being altogether told, make five hundred horsemen and five hundred foteman, as before for the moste parte being withoute

* Sir John Nevil, of Liversedge. He escaped along with the Earls into Scotland.

armor or weapon, but we doubt they wyll nowe grow greate of these simple people, rather shapes then matter. But now to complaine our lacke, which is armor and weapon and monye, for the contrye of Yorkshire never goeth to warre but for wages.

The people already complayneth, and yet have I bestowed that littell I had amongst them, and hathe prepared such store of vyttall that they shall not lacke, which hathe and dothe bothe please and content them well, but wold to God I had your Lordship's warrant to the Quene's Majestie's armourer at Newcastle, for I wold make a convey in their absence to fett some, for that indede is our greateste lacke. And thus agayne I end, wishing againe that your Lordship take good heede to yourself. From Barnard Castell, the 17th of November, at twelve of the clocke at night, 1569.

Your Lordship's wholly at command,

GEORGE BOWES.

THOMAS STANHOPE TO ———.

It may please your Honors to be advertised, that this first of December being in the morning, after we addressed our last letters to your Lordships, came to us Mr. Reinold Lee, whom we dispatched to Shirbourne, as we first wrote we had done one, having bestowed his travail to this presente to the effecte following: first, that he had learned that the rebels were departed from Tadcaster* towardses Richmond on Saturday last, spoiling Richmond at their coming upon color that they wolde not sende them such men and ayde as they sent for; thence they passed towardses Brawnsbye, spoiling all places in their way of cattell and horses, and what els they could come by. And so did they in the Lord Lati-

* Tadcaster was the most southern point to which the rebels advanced.

mer's,* Lord Evers', and Sir William Bellewes' livings, as Sir William Bellewes reported to him at Yorke. At Caterley More these rebells mustered their men on Monday, where it was credibly reported to him that they were not above foure thousand footemen at the moste; the moste part whereof rude, unarmed, and ill appointed; and are eight hundred horsemen, or under a thousand. They discharged the most of their footemen to be ready at an hower's call, but thought by Sir Raffe Sadler's† report unto him that they would not be gathered together againe in haste, insomuch that he hoped that our men which were to sett forwardes should have little to do.

Moreover, by report of a credible man dwelling by him in Shirbourne, who was stayed in the rebell's campe, he heard that the common persons had conceived a mistrust towards the Erles that they would steale away from them beyond the seas, or out of the land, and leave them in the briers. Other intelligens he could not gett, because the rebells were departed before he came to Shirbourne. As knoweth the Lord, who preserve your Honors long to his pleasure. From Newarke, the first of December, 1569.

Your Honors' humble to command,

THOMAS STANHOPE.

SIR WILLIAM DRURY TO CECIL.

May it please your Honor to be advertised, eighteen dayes passed I sent Mr. Heryngton unto you with the reporte of the estate bothe of towne and countrie now under my rule and charge, as also my knowledge of the proceedings in Scotlande. He was presente at Edenbounge at the greate

* Sir John Nevill, Baron Latimer of Danby; William, second Baron Evers of Wilton; Sir William Belasyse.

† Sir Ralph Sadler was paymaster of the army employed against the rebels.

assemblie. I directed hym to repaire in passing to my Lord Levetenante, and to acquaint his Lordship with the estate here. I heare he is now by hym stayd, and to be employed with some charge.

Amongest the rest he had to declare unto your Honor the Regente's offer, readynes with all that in Scotland would do for hym, was at the Quene's Majestie my soveraigne's commandment, and if it shold please her Highnes to have hym with ten thousand with hym for twenty dayes, he wolde bring them without any charge unto her. He hathe also in every good town caused proclamation to be made, forbidding all men to ayde or assiste by any meanes any of the rebells upon payne of treason. He also hathe written his private letters to divers upon the borders, as to the Lord Hume and others, to the lyke effect. And he holds hys frends in a redynes upon the fyrste knowledge from her Majestie to sette forthe forward, and remaynes in Edenbourge to the same end.

Th'Earle Morton, bothe by his letters and messengers, offers himselfe to come with three thousand with hym, well appointed. Dumlaneryke, Johnstons, Bowklwe, Wetherburne, Blaketter, and others, hathe offered hym so many, and remayne also preste ¹ for the firste call.

Sythense the departure of Mr. Heryngton, I signified unto your Honor of a new desyre of Ledyngton's to receive the whole nobility of Skotteland together, and they to bynd themselves by oathe and wrytings all to joyne and take parte together against all the Papistes of England and Scotland, and thys shoulde be moved by the minister unto the Regente. And the rather to have it take effecte, th'Earle Morton's inclynation unto the same was required, with some other whom he hated as well. But it is not yet harkened unto, but kepte secret. Greate is the fear he is in, and latterlie, sithense his frendes departed of the towne of Edenborough, and looks

¹ Ready.

styl to th'Erle of Anguise. The wryting wherunto his hand was, as they say, which would have found hym faultie, is turned into asshes. But there is divers hathe seen it, whose testymonie at the barre wyl as well for hys condemnation serve. The Regente dothe staye hym to see how these troubles wyl end, and as it is thought to have farther and more matter agaynst hym, as to be a dealer to move bothe in England and Scotland increase of more troubles. He dothe styl wryte into England. The Byshoppe of Rosse heares often from hym, and sendes agayne.

The Byshoppe of Rosse hath agreed with that ambassador there for Spayne to send men from the Duke of Alva to land at Dombarton, eight hundred soldiers should be named to come. But if they come not presently, I thynke if they lande there they will fynde another wellcome then looked for. For the Master of Greyme, who is a dealer with the Lord Fleminge for renderyng of that, hathe brought word that if he may recover agayne suche an abbay which is taken from hym, he wyl delyver it. The Master is agayne gone thither, so that surely I thynke it wyl be rendered.

The Lord of Grange is sounde and sure unto the Regente, wherein divers in Scotlande are deceived and offended. The Lord Seton, for saving of his sureties from forfyte of theyre bondes, is entered agayne into the castell of Edenborough, prisoner. He mynded to passe into France, but now his next jorney is lyke to be to Blacknesse.

Th'Erle of Hunteley seekes leave to passe into France, which will not be granted.

Th'Erle of Argyle makes once agayne a new reconciliation unto the Regente, which he wyl as well keepe as the reste he hathe done before.

The daye of the greate assemblie in Edenborough, Grange early in the morning came to the Regente.

Sir, I know your Grace hathe divers tales and brutes brought you of me ; to shew how I am towards you, here be

the keyes of the castle, place or displace there whom you please.

And for any thing that I can understand, if Grange could have been wonne from the Regente, both he and Morton should have bene now lifeles, or ells other would have wanted their wills. I know the Lord Hume's mynd therin, who now, with Sir Andrew Karre, (altho they are greate enemyes,) the Lord of Farnyhyrste, and some of the surnames of Tyvydale and Lydesdale, have conference with the Quene's Majestie my soveraigne's rebels, and I am not ignorante what determynation some have made to spoyl in the Easte Marches, and if there be any helpe of the rebels' evill doings, as that they may but stand, they mynde by open forrage, spoyles, and raising of fyre, to be doing. I have warned them within my charge to their strength to stand upon theyr gardes. But I wyshe your Honor understoode our estates, as well in towne as countrie.

Mr. James Banfoure is delivered from Sainte Andrews, and at lybertie in Edenborogh.

Th'Earle Morton's strength increaseth mucche by the bestowing in marriage th'Erle of Angushe's sisters. The Lord Maxwell is now to marry one of them. There is a couple come oute of Ireland, and were there a eight dayes sithense. They say, Sir Edmond Butler is broken owte of Delyne castell and escaped. The Deputie was at the nurye, (?) and that there was great appearances of more trouble to grow. For that they came so late from thense, I am the bolder to signifie the same.

If the occasions grow not from other countreys, the Regente is nowe lykely to governe with quietnes, and assuredly, for as mucche as I can gather, he is wholly at the Quene's Majestie my soveraigne's devotion.

It is thoughte Mr. Banfoure shal be one of the accusers of Lydington. The Lord Hume styll puttes in store of victualles into Hume and Fawse Castells, and lyes and so myndes all

thys winter to remayne in Fawse Castell, whereunto he hathe receaved in a store of fuell, which heretofore was wonte to be stowed withowte.

It is thought if Lydingeton could escape owte of prison he wold receive hym, and that if any of the rebells come unto hym they shall have harbour, notwithstanding the Regente's letter unto hym to the contrarye. I know his answer at the receit thereof. Lydyngton's frends are not suffered to come to him as was accustomed. And so leaving to trouble your Honor further, I humbly take my leave, praying God long to keepe you.

From Barwyke, the 9th of December, 1569.

Your Honor's humble assured at commandement,
WILLIAM DRURY.

VALENTINE BROWNE* TO LORD HUNSDON.

We are presently advertised severally, that the rebells at one of the clock this present day have given warning to the common people to make shifte for themselves, and thereuppon have themselves departed in a great number of horsemen westward, as is reported. Of which matter I thought convenient to advertise your Honor by this speciall messenger, who can declare in what forwardness we were this present towards Durham, to have bene as nygh as we might possible to you. And thus I betake¹ your Honor to the tuition of the Almighty. Wrytten in haste upon our marche, this 11th. at night, the 16th of December, 1569.

Your Lordship's humble to commande,

VALENTYNE BROWNE.

What shal be your pleasure we nowe do, I praye your Lordship advertise us by this bearer.

* Valentine Browne was knighted in 1570, by Sussex, on his return from an inroad among the borderers.

¹ Deliver.

SIR WILLIAM DRURY TO CECIL.

It maye please your Honor to be advertised, I have sythens my last of the 19th and 20th, directed unto you, receyved information from the Regente for his repayer unto the borders* to meete with the rebells, and to impeach theyr entrye into Scotlande. In all so may his power, I thynke, wil be towards five thousand now presently, and more are to come. He myndeth well to fight with them, if occasion may so serve.

At theyr being at Exam,' they expected the comyng unto them of some, that I hope love themselves better, and dothe more consyder of their duties. As I can gather, they mynded if otherwayes they had not ben hyndered, to have deferred this theyr unhappy and undutifull enterprise till nearer unto the springe. The stranger loves not to come upon this coaste in the wynter.

The Byshoppe of Rosse, I take it, be not ignorante of this commotion. There is one of Tadcaster, whose name is Taylor; he is as it were a piece of lawyer; he is one of his messengers, and was acquaynted with these matters before they brake thus farre owte.

Yonge Gray, the schoolmaster's sone of Nuecastle, is another, for whom I have layd some baytes, besydes the advertising of the Lord Lyvetenant and my Lord President. He passed now laste into Scotlande by the weste borders, new come from London. He brought letters to Duke Ambleton, Ledyngton, from Harrys, Farnihirste, and others. Anthony Rokeby, I feare, had some foreknowledge of this undutifull parte. Hereafter I think your Honor shall from me heare of others. I can but wyshe the Byshopp of Rosse had not come in England, or that he had not received suche

* When the Regent learnt that the English rebels were retreating towards the border, he marched thither with an army to hinder their reception in Scotland in a body. The names in this letter are in cypher.

¹ Hexam.

creditt. Ledington is of the mynde that further troubles are yet to grow; he is of the practise. In my last I signified what I gathered wold become of hym. I think he hath done muche harme.

I cause bothe soldiers and townsmen, for that our numbers are not many, to worke, and no charge unto her Majestie. Every man has his turne. The weather is colde and we have no money to buy coales. We synke the dyke lower; we make a wawmure (?) arounde aboutes, and fyle and steppes. Gaffes and Lowe determyne to discharge every dutie unto the Quene's Majestie, my soveraigne, to the spending of their lyves, what word or necessitie soever shal come. I doubt not but your Honor consyders of Hartelpoll, some convenyent number, with a trusty and sufficient leader. This I delyver under your Honor's correction, and so my trust is it shal be receyved. For any thinge that I can get, the rebells will to Kokermouthe, if they cannot to Dumbarton.

I thinke the passage at Glasgow and other places the Regente wyll cause garded. And so far for this presente; I will not trouble your Honor farther, but humbly take my leave, praying God to keepe you.

From Barwyke, this 23rd of December, 1569.

Your Honor's assured ever at commandement,

WILLIAM DRURY.

SIR HENRY RATCLIFFE * TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

This day there came your Lordship's letter of the flying of the two Erles and theyr company into Scotland, who I wysh were taken, to bynde over farther quiet. I do not know whether your Lordship have receyved my letters of the 12th of this present, for that I have not hearde from you since your letter of the third, with the postscript of the 6th. And it

* The brother of the Earl of Sussex.

may so happen as being in the fiele you cannot understande my letters. You know my meaning therein. Wherefore I praye you by your next despatch let me heare from you, therfore if you do not understand me, I will write otherwise. I am gladd to heare the travaill your Lordship endureth as well of body as mynde.

The envyed man oftentimes hathe not the worst happe, no more have you.* I do not dowte but as you have wisely attempted the beginning, so you will carefully foresee and prevent the ende. I praye your Lordship forgett not to wryte as often as any occasion serveth, and in any wise daily, and that to be sent with spede, lest others seeke therby to weare that you wyne, and enjoye that you and yours shoulde possess. I wolde wryte more at large, but that the haste is such, as by long tarrying my letter shoulde be lefte out of the packet. We have every daye severall newes, and sometyme contraries, and yet all put out as true.† I humbly take my

* Whilst the Earl of Sussex was engaged in suppressing the rebellion in the North, his enemies at court were busy spreading reports and insinuations against his fidelity, and his position was the more delicate, as one of his brothers, Egremont Ratcliffe, was amongst the rebels. To counterbalance the ill effect of these reports, Sir Ralph Sadler wrote from time to time warm letters in praise of the Earl's faithfulness and zeal. To one of them Cecil, on the 25th of December, answers, "In my opinion, more cannot be done than is by my Lord of Sussex, who hath here hard constructors, and therefore his Lordship is beholding to your testimony, wherin surely you do honourably for mayntenance of truth, which I always have found in him, and beside that surely I think without prejudice of any of the nobilitie, I know none endowed with better parts for a nobleman and a paire of the realme than he is, God assisting him with his grace to employ it. My knowledg of his worthines only maketh me affectionated to him, and certainly nothing els."—*Sadler Paper*. It would seem from this letter, and a former (p. 65.) that the Earl was somewhat dilatory in sending intelligence of his motions to the court.

† Thomas Norton, of Sharpenhoe, in Bedfordshire, a zealous writer against the Papists and the Northern rebels, in his "Warning against the dangerous practices of the Papists, and specially the

leave, praying your Lordship not to forget my former request of your receiving and understanding my letter from the Courte at Wyndesor. This Saynt Steven's daye, at ten of the clocke at nighte, 26th of December, 1569, in haste.

Your Lordship's assured brother,

HENRY RADECLYFFE.

partners of the late rebellion," (Lond. 1570,) gives us a curious account of the diligence of the disaffected in spreading rumours and news:—"Another knot of such good companie be common rumor-spreaders, of whom the publike fame is that there be or have bene certaine notable and noted walkers in Paule's and such places of resort, so common that the very usuall places of their being there are ordinarily knowen by the name of *Papists' corner*, and *Lier's bench*, saving that I heare say now of late many of them flocke more into the middle isle, which is supposed to be done partly to shunne publike noting, partly for better harkening, and partly for more commodious publishing. The suspicion, grudge and talke goeth among the Quene's good subjectes, how such fellowes be the coyners of newes; in the beginning of the rebellion how lustie they were, how their countenances, their fleering, their flinging paces, their whisperings, shewed their hartes; how they had newes of everie encrease, of every going forward, and every advantageable doing of the rebelles; how they have newes out of Fraunce and Flaunders with the soonest, God knoweth what they send thither, and with what reciprocation they requite such newes againe; how they had newes of the late horrible murder ere it were done, as if they had ben accessaries before the fact; how they write letters at home directed to themselves; how with these pretty letters, while they be fresh bleeding, that is, so scarcely drie that the ink blotteth, with their great countenances, and their wonderous intelligence and great insightes in secrets of princes, as if they were kinges' cousines, and with their offrings of wagers, and such other braggeries, they deface (as men say) all that can be brought or reported never so truly of any good successe to the Queene or her frendes."

SIR HENRY RATCLIFFE TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

It maye please your Lordship to understand that the takyng of the Earl of Northumberland* hath partly moved hope of quietnes here and in other partes of this realme, whom I wishe here in safe custodie.

If those partes is or may be lefte in such security as no sudden attempt or renewing of rebellion may offend, or overthrow that which hitherto is well begunne, (having also shewed some such execution as is convenient for such a lewde attempt, as well for the punishment of that which is past, as for terror and example of that which may come,) I wishe your Lordship heartily here, and then I doubt not but your Lordship shall well answer all observations, purge all dowtes, put away all suspicion, and extinguish all malices or slanderous events or reports.

If your Honor do well weigh the using of pardoning, or gifte of life, landes, or goodes, you shall do well, for that I heare much muttering thereof, but your Lordship knows best what you have to do.

Your Lordship's affayres for your sutes in lawe for Rysley, remaynes to be tryed the fyrste of the terme, October or Hilary, when, if you come not, I praye your Lordship directe me your pleasure therein, as you shall think good, either to my Lord Keeper, Mr. Secretary, and others, or to the Quene's Majestie, or bothe, for that ther is no order taken for the staye of tryall.

I remayne for my owne causes *in pristino statu*. This in haste. I wyshe myself with your Lordship, and in the meantyme God prosper you and your doings! From the courte, the 4th of January, 1569. Wishing to heare shortely from you,

Your Lordship's assured loving brother,

HENRY RADECLYFF.

* He was taken by the Regent of Scotland from the borderers, but was not delivered to the English for some time.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO CECIL.

Jesus help. Right Honorable, according to your Honor's appointment I have sent my man to know by your gudd meanes the Quene's Majestie's pleasure for my repairing homeways. Now my Lord Sussex is come, I truste some gudd order shall be taken for the cuntrye. If my person might do any gudd, I wold attend as your wisdom shall think mete, or appoint me. The cuntrye is in grete miserie, and, as the sheriff writes, he cannot do justice by any number of juries of suche as be untouched in this rebellion, unto they be auther¹ quieted by law, or pardoned by the Quene's Majestie. The number of offenders is so grete, that few innocent are left to trie the guiltie. And if the forfeited landes be bestowed on suche as be strangers, and will not dwell in the cuntrye, the people shall be without heades, the countrye desert, and no number of freeholders to do justice by juries nor serve in the warrs.

What comfort it is to go now into that cuntrye for him that wold live quietly, your wisdom can easily judge. But God is present ever with his people, and his vocation is not rashly to be forsaken, nor his assistance to be dowed on. His gudd will be done! And if I go downe in displeasure, my person shall do more harme than gudd. The Lord grant you his spirit of wisdom, to provide for this afflicted realme. 4 January.

Yours ever,

JA. Δυνωλμ.

¹ Either.

ALLAYN KING TO SIR HENRY PERCY.*

Right Worshipful, may it please, as this night late came Robert Shaftoe† to Tynemouth, whose coming was purposely to have spoken with you, and for that his chance was so ill as that he came too late, and that he hathe with great importancy caused me to wryte, wherein if your Worship shall have any mislyking of me, I crave but my true intent for my excuse. My Lord of Northumberland is in Edenhrough, and not in ward, but in the keeping of my Lord Regent, who hathe gyven unto my Lord license to lye in the towne of Edinburgh, with a garde of the Regent's men; and my Lord hathe of his own men seven principall. James Swyno‡ and William Burton, and the rest, have lyberty to come at tymes, who lye in the country to the number of sixteen. My Lord's request is by Robert to you, who is both in great distresse and misery at this present, cleane without apparel or money, &c., of all brotherlynes to extend your lyberalitie to releve him withall at this his present necessitie; and also he desyreth you to wryte or send him word of such newes as you may imparte him withall; first, what lyking the nobility hath of his trouble; secondly, how or in what case his frends, men, and those that were with him are used; thirdly, of his children. My Lady of Northumberland hathe

* Sir Henry Percy was the younger brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and, remaining faithful to the Queen, succeeded to the titles and estates, after his brother's execution. He afterwards joined in Lord Paget's attempt to liberate Mary Queen of Scots, and, being committed, shot himself in prison to prevent his attainer. Allayn King seems to have been a partisan of the rebels. This letter would lead us to believe that Sir Henry Percy's show of fidelity to the Queen was not quite sincere.

† Robert Shaftoe was one of those who escaped with the Earls; he took refuge with a borderer, the Laird of Bedrule.

‡ Several of this name were engaged in the rebellion. Ralph Swyno escaped to Hume Castle, where he and others remained with the Countess of Northumberland.

her hartily commended unto you, who craveth and desyreth of your counsell in the behalfe of my Lord. My Lady lieth as yet at Fernyhurst, but the Lord Hume hath written lycense for her to come to him, which she wyll. She might have accesse to my Lord to Edenbrouge, but she thynketh not so good as yet, till she have some more warrants from the Lord Regent, for that she being at lyberty, she is able to make some shyfte for my Lord nowe, and hathe already sent home to her friends; as to my Lord of Worster,* and to other of her friends. Her request also is, that if you wolde send some trusty man of your owne to my Lord and her, you might pleasure them very muche, and they wold discourse unto hym of such things as are yet in safety, which might be nowe to their releaves, or at the least it might come to your hands. Farther my Lady wold that you shold understand, that the disagreement that was amongst them chiefly was the cause of this their mishappe and ill fortune to sever and flie. Also for my Lord Daker's breche that hath bene aforetyme, he hath shewed himself a sowgfull (?) man, who is as yet thought and no otherwayes knowne to my Lady, but that he wyll assiste them if they wyll come into England, or when they come. There hathe messenger passed atwixte them, whereby it is supposed that he shall enclyne hymself to th'earles, and to theyr power that they loke to have of Scottisshemen. As first, they are assured of the Lord of Argile, the Earle Huntley, the Lord of Grange, who hath promised them that they shall have what he may do, and those frends that he hath in captivity, and will not delyver over the castell of Edenbrough to the Regent, who hathe demanded it and cannot have it.

The Regent should have gone to Dumbarton, which is

* The Countess of Northumberland was Anne, daughter of Henry Somerset, second Earl of Worcester. She escaped to the borders, first to Fairnyhurst, and then to Hume Castle. She seems to have been an intriguing woman, and lived long afterwards on the continent, busy in all the plots of the refugees.

besieged by the Regent's power against the Quene's friends, but for that he cannot have Edenbroughe castell. He lyeth still in the towne of Edenbroughe. At my Lord of Northumberland's first coming into Scotlande, the Regent did not nor wold not talk with him in three dayes together; but after they had mett and talked they otherwayes agreed, and many tymes talked. The Marshal of Barwyke dyd talke with my Lord in Jedworthe. My Lord Regent was once on the waye to have fetcht my Lady of Northumberland from the Lord of Fernyherst, but he returned backe agayne. The Lord Regent had lyked to have gotten betrayed the Earle of Westmoreland, at a place called Blood-lanes; it is the Lord of Fernyhurst's; but he got knowledge, and so escaped that end. Nowe he is at lyberty, and rydeth where he wyll. It is thought that Scotland shall breake within eight dayes with the Earles. There are certayne merchants of Edenbroughe come out of Flanders, whose ships are stayed here, and they reporte that the Duke d'Alva and his power are ready, and some of his horsemen were shipt afore they came. But no man knoweth of theyr landing, where nor when. My Lady of Northumberland's earnest request is for your counsell, and what you would have done herein. Robert Shaftoe will staye at his father's till he heare of you, which he most humblye desyreth. This trusting your Worshipp will not have any myslyking for this wryting, I wish for your prosperous returne, and encrease of worshipp. From the Quene's Majestie's castell of Tynemouth, the 6th of January, 1569. If your Worshipp wold have any sent, Robert Shaftoe wyll both carry him safe, and bryng hym agayne.

Your obedyant servant,

ALLAYNE KYNG.

May it please you, sir, my Lady of Northumberland hathe sent to my Lady, and earnestly desyreth her to send her some apparell, as she is destitute bothe of wollen and linnen.

My Lord also wrytte to Mr. Medcaufe,* of Alnwycke, for forty pounds that remayneth in his hands, but he cannot be found. If he be in England, maye it please your worshippe to let him understand of the same.

JOHN LEACHE, SURGEON, TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

Right Honorable, my duty remembered unto your Honor, at this tyme is to let you understand that Mr. Byshopp is sore wounded upon the head with a byll, and hath great impostumation because of the fraction of the skull, and is in a greate consumption, therewithall, my Lorde, he hathe a sonne that greveth him sore and is ever in his mynde, which is in Durham at your Lordship's pleasure, whose name is Thomas Bishoppe. May it therefore please your Honor to give me the lyfe of the sayd Thomas Bishoppe, I truste I should sooner, by the grace of God, recover the helthe of his father, because he is ever in his mynde; and, as his father sayeth, he never did weare any armor, nor never came in battle raye with the rebels, but attending upon his father.

Mr. Dudley made sute to the Lord Scrupe, Lord Warden, immediately after his coming from your Lordshippe, to send one Carter, a surgeon, and the Quene's servant, a gunner in Carlyle, whereby he might report the truth unto the Lord Warden to signifie unto your Honor, who delt with him before my coming, and had used him very well, and was his request to signifie unto your Honor. Thus the Lord preserve your Honor, both now and ever.

Your Lordship's to command,

JOHN LEACHE.

* The name of Leonard Metcalf occurs in the roll of attainders in this rebellion.

MATTHEW SHAFTOE TO SIR HENRY PERCY.

Sir, my dutie remembered, these are for Godde's sake to requeste you to direct your letters to my Lord Liefetenent for my brother's life, who is judged to dye, and was going to the place of execution this daye ; and upon great suit I have stayed hym till to-morrow, and I hope that upon your frendly and earnest letter to my Lord, he shall be saved.

For the truth is, that one James Shafto, of Tamfieldlighe, tenant to the Earl of Northumberland, is prycked to dye, which is meant of my father,* and not of my brother, for he was never tenant to any man, and so I would have you to declare in your letters to my Lord, for so I have shewed to hym already, and that my brother was a household servant and a young man, and no retayner, and so, indeed, he was ever since I put hym to my Lord, which was not six weeks before this rebellion began.

For Christ's passion, help nowe to save hys life, for to-morrowe he will suffer, unlesse your letters helpe, which I hope you will direct as favorable and earnest as may be, and declare therein how he is mistaken for the other James Shafto, because they be both of one name, for so have I sayd, and so I would you should say. And let my brother come to me with your letters to my Lord with all speed possible, for it requyreth haste. Unlesse you helpe, I can do nothing, for Mr. Slingsby is not at Durham, nor no other frend that can do me any pleasure, but you only ; and now you shall bynd us all to pray for you for ever in saving his life, which I think you may do by your favorable letters, if you come not yourself. Christ preserve you and all yours ! This Wednesday, 1569.

Yours at commandment,

MATHEW SHAFTO.

* Who had, probably, escaped, as did several of this name.

SIR HENRY RATCLIFFE TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

I have no newes to wryte unto your Lordship, but that yesterdaye Mr. Vice-Chamberlayn was made Treasurer, and Sir James Croftes, Comptroller, and Sir Roberte Stafforde, Sergeant-porter. It is thought Sir Nicholas Throgmerton shal be Vice-Chamberlayn, and Mr. Thomas Heneage, Treasurer of the chamber.

As I have before wrytten, so do I fynde dayly the occasions of the necessitie in my judgment of your Lordship's repayre hither. My Lord Stewarde (as divers tymes heretofore so styll to me), dothe shewe hymselfe a frende to you and a liker and favorer of your doings and proceedings, which if your Lordship thinks so good, I wolde you toke knowledge thereof.

I have understande by your assured frends, that my Lord of Bedford hathe well and frendly spoken in some matters touching your doings, and hath also requested me to recommend hym to your Lordship, affirming that he myndes not to desiste from his begunne good will in furthering of your proceedings, for I assuredly perceive that tyll your owne coming and purgation, thynges will not be perfectly sounde, for thoughe the depthe of suspicion may be removed, yet all jelousy is not put away; and thoughe the wounde dothe seme to be cured, yet I am fearde the scarre dothe remayne, which not thoroughly healed may perhappes breake owte hereafter.

My cosyn Roger Manners* hathe requested me to wryte to your Lordship for the begging of one of my Lord of Northumberlande's faulkners: he can name none, but wold gladly have one that were good.

Thus with my humble commendation, being desyrous to heare of your proceedings and th'ende of those civell warres, and also what is become of the reste that is fledd, I commyt

* Roger Manners, nephew of Edward, third Earl of Rutland, who afterwards succeeded his father, as fifth Earl.

your Lordshipp to God, being advised by some of my frends to defer my owne causes tyll your coming, which I wyshe to be shortly. From the courte at Wyndsorr, the 8th of January, 1569.

Your Lordship's assured loving brother,

HENRY RADECLYFF.

My Lady of Hunsdone dyd require me to wryte unto your Lordship, that she dyd not see her husbände or sonnes should be rewarded here, if they were not consydered there. Here be askers enough, and as I thynke nothyng worth the having unrequired. I remember the saying used to Mr. Bagnoll in the northe of Ireland, "kepe for me, Nicholas." I omit other matters I should wryte of for haste, but I praye you send me word whether as yet you may understand and neede my letters.

SIR HENRY PERCY TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My humble duty to your good Lordship, passing by the younge ladys,* I found them in harde case, for neither had they any provision nor one peny to relieve them with, but some lyttell thinge from me. Thay wolde gladly be removed, their wante of fire is so grete, whose yeres may not well suffer that lack. I caused this berer to stay two younge horses, which were those my Lorde most estemed; I wolde your Lordship shoulde sende for them with spede, they be sore ranged for; one ther is that my Lorde of Hunsdon dyd give me a yere paste, which Mr. Vayghane† hath taken. I mynde

* The daughters of the Earl of Northumberland. (?)

† Perhaps the person whose name is said to have been used to frighten the Earl of Northumberland into action. "The same day at night," says Stowe, "certain conspirators perceiving the said Earl to be wavering and unconstant of promise made to them, caused a servant of his called Bekewith, (after he was laid in his bed) to bustle in, and to knock at his chamber doore, willing him in haste to arise and shifte

the same for my lady your wyffe, and truly he shall not have him with my good wyll. My Lorde had a whyte jenett, which is in the handes of Mr. Lenortte Dacres;* I pray you let him not passe your handes, for he representes the carrying of a noble mane. As for the barbe that Frevell spoke to me of, I have syfted the matter and perceive the same to be in the handes of Wallis, the baylyffe, yet was he not at home in my passing by, therefore I could not speke with him, but I wolde your Lordship in tyme shoulde sende for it, and to dellyver thys inclosed. I must crave pardon in making this composition with your Lordship, and that is, if ever Gode of his grace and the Quene's Majestie of her mercy call him to his former estate, that he may have the same againe, for that there was nothing of worldly goodes he so muche esteemed. This bearer was my Lorde's servant, and comes to your Lordship for mercy, into whose handes he commits his lyfe. And thus I humbly take my leve, wysching to your Lordship your hearte's desire. From Screuynge, this 9th of January, 1569.

Your Lordship's assured to command,

H. PERCY.

Before the inclosing of this letter, the baylyffe came to me, so that I have taken order for the barbe. He repares to your Lordship, to whom I humbly crave your Lordship's favor; he is but simpell, very honest. Theris grete spoyle of thinges, as he wyll show. For God's sake, helpe! that all be not ruined, by your good meanes. What service I or myne may do, shal be to your Lordship.

H. PERCY.

for himselfe, for that his enemies (whom he termed to be Sir Oswold Westrop and *Master Vaughan*) were about the parke, and had beset him with numbers of menne."

* Leonard Dacres, second son of William, Lord Dacres, who at this period acted a double part, pretending fidelity to the Queen, but soon after he raised open rebellion, was defeated by Lord Hunsdon, and fled the kingdom.

THE COUNTESS OF WESTMORELAND* TO CECIL.

Right Honorable, I beseche you beare with my importunitie, and let it not offend you, that I earnestly crave your goodnes to be a sutor for me to the Quene's Majestie, to give me leave to come to her royall presence, which altho my Lord's doings have bene suche as they much abasse me so to do, yet myne owne innocencie, and the great desire I have to do my humble dutie to her Highnes, something imboldeneth me to contynue this my sute, trusting muche by your frendshipp and good helpe to obtayn the same, otherwise it wold be a greater grief unto me, then all my other miseries. Thus beseching you to take pitie of my miserable and unfortunate estaite, I cease to trouble you. At Hawerd's house,† the 23rd of Marche, 1569.

Your most humble sutor,

J. WESTMERLAND.

RANDOLPH ‡ TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

Right Honorable my very good Lord, I have receaved your Lordship's letter of the 18th of this present, wrytten at Yorke, and in the same a cipher to be used when occasion

* Jane (not Anne, as in the Peerages) Countess of Westmoreland was sister of the Duke of Norfolk.

† Howard House.

‡ Randolph, after his return from Russia, was now again sent into Scotland, to negotiate border matters, and his proceedings were, as it appears, in some measure made dependent on the Duke of Sussex. In the month of January, after his return from the borders, the Regent Murray was murdered at Linlithgow by a Hamilton, whose enterprise appears to have been connected with the same plots as had produced the rebellion of the two northern Earls. The next night the Carr of Fairnihurst, and the Scotts of Buccleugh, with the borderers

serveth. Where your Lordship desyreth to know the state of this country, it requyreth so long tyme to make full declaration thereof, that I wolde be verie loathe to delay the answer of your Lordship's letter untill that might be done so amply, as I wolde your Lordship should be informed. But that your Lordshlp may knowe so much as presentlie can be written, untill farther leisure, it maye please your Lordship to understand, that I fynde thys countrie so divided, that I knowe not howe to unite them, but by suche aide as must be given from some parte to the one, that maye constrayne the other to obey to reason. And as nowe the question is, who shall governe, the Kinge or Quene, so may her Majestie employe that supporte she myndeth to give where she lyke, seeing I cannot judge which number is greatest, though I do accompte much better of th'one than of th'other, and how they are divided, your Lordship shall see in a wryting herewith sent,* the coppie of the same that I have sent unto her

who were most zealous for the Queen of Scots, invaded the English border, and spread devastation far and near. The violence of the factions in Scotland rendered it impossible for the new regent, Lenox, to remedy the evil, and the Earl of Sussex, with the English army, passed the border, and took a signal vengeance on the offending clans. In the first invasion not less than three hundred villages were burnt, and about fifty castles razed to the ground.

Lethington as well as Grange had joined the faction, who wished to bring back their Quene, and who opposed the party in power.

* The inclosure here alluded to, is this—

“The names of such as remain at the K. of Scot's obedience, and have subscribed to his authority : Earles Lennox, Morton, Anguishe, Marre, Glancarne, Boughan, Cassels, Montrose, Marshall, Arrell, Monteithe; Barons Lyndesay, Ruthen, Symple, Ocletrie, Glammes, Carcathe, Meffin, Bortwicke, Drommond, Salton, Syncler; Bishops and Abbots, 20. The most part of the Barons, with Bourgoyses of all the chief towns. Graynge, Capitain of the Castle; Liddington, L. Secretarie; Mr. James Magill, Clerke of the Regester; Mr. John Spens, Advocate to the King; Justice Clerke; the Treasurer.

“Doubtfull persons, but such as have subscribed to the King's autho-

Majestie's self, with my last letters of the 22nd of this instant, with full answer of all matters hytherto commytted unto my charge, and what was done and concluded this laste convention, in which her Majestie's offers for the mayntaynance of religion, contynuanee of amytie, and perservation of the King, is well receaved, and an ambassador appoynted to be sent to her Majestie to consummate the promises, and making of the assurances that shall pass between her Majestie and suche as stande with the King's authoritie. Touching the revenge of the injuries done to the Quene my mistres' subjects, I see the good wylles of manie to concur with your Lordship, but fynde no lykelihood of the doing, seeing there is yet no established authority to command, nor obedience to any man that myndeth never so well. Your Lordship muste, as farr as I see, truste to your own forces, and the sooner it may be done the better, and as they shall approache the borders, the sooner resolution will be taken with the nobilitie what theie will do, and knowne unto us what theie shall be able to do. For the deliverie of the rebelles, as manie as are in the King's obedience, and allowe of justice, are well content to have them delivered, but being all out of their hands, (saving my Lord of Northumberland,) it is out of their power to performe their good willes, and therin other meanes may be used that must bothe reforme the one and the other.

Out of France, there is a Monsieur come to Dunbar, called Verrac, a gentleman of the chamber. He hath brought letters, but of an olde date, viz. the 10th of Februarie, to the noblemen, whether to all, or the one faction, I know not as yet, but look shortly to be better informed to what effecte, or where about he goeth. Seeing I have here nothing to do myself until the first of May, that the next convention begins,

rity, and voted the same in Parliment. Earls Huntlie, Athal, Crayforde, Eglinton, Catnes; Bishops of Athenes, Pettinwini; Lords Ogleby, Fortbois, Hume, Oliphant, Zester.

"Utter ennemies. All the Hamiltons, Argile, Boyde, Fleming, Seton, Heries, St. Cosme."

and all the Lords departed to their own houses, not so much as one here present, I mind also, God willing, if I can escape between the Lord Hume and the Lords of Twedale, that breedeth all this comber, to be at Barwicke very shortly, to meet and attend upon your Lordship, until some such time of service be, where I may do good either here or elsewhere, and write my mind more at large, and with better suerty than I can here at this time, all matters standing in such terms as now they do. And thus most humbly I take my leave. At Edenbourge, the 28th of March, 1570.

Your honorable Lordship's to command,

THO. RANDOLPH.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO CECIL.

Sir, your Honor shal be advertised, that where this after-noone or to-morrowe I was mynded to have taken bond of Bomelius * shortly to have departed the realme, according to such purpose as hath bene a good tyme in me toward hym, and not disliked by neither of her Majestie's counsail, as Sir William Fitzwilliams tolde me from my Lord Keper and from you, to prevent this my doing, this Bomelius this morning sent his wife to me with these letters inclosed, and because the contents be of high importance, I thought it the best to send him to your Honors of the counsayl, where ye may examine him most sufficientlie. What he hath to saye I know not, but I feare that the divel is busie in mischief. It were good ye knew it, and the more I suspect malice, hearing but yesterdaye of a mischievous intended practise (if it be

* This Bomelius was a great astrologer and magician, who had cast the Queen's nativity, and declared that the present year would witness much trouble and difficulty, and that there was danger of a great change. He had been imprisoned for practising physic without licence, and probably, as Strype observes, for "some other dangerous practises."

true) of poysoning of her Majestie's shippes in the ordinance and victayle.

I see *Judas non dormit*, and some spite hath reached to myself but this last terme, where *quidam filii Beliall* did gauge my poore barge in dyvers places in the bottom, that if it had not bene spied, I was lyke to have drenched in the myddes of the Temys, no grete losse of such one as I am, but I wold have bene sory my famyly to have peryshed, or that such *incircumcisi Philistei* should have gloryed to insult with *ubi est Deus eorum*, &c.

I shall still praye to God for the protection of you all. If this man's story be but an astrological experiment or prediction, it is the lesse, but I feare further of some conspiracie before Easter. I gave hym lybertie to be an open prisoner in the King's benche, where before he was a close prysoner, but I charged the keper that he should practise no more upon the Quene's subjects. Whether any practitioner hath resorted to hym (as many have a wonderful confidence in hym and in his magike), I know not. What he hathe to utter, ye may learne. *Sub omni lapide scorpio latet*, yet *quia timidi mater non flet*, I am thus bolde, peradventure more suspicious then I nede, but I referre all to your wisdom. From my house, the third of Aprile.

Your Honor's in Christ,

MATTHUE CANTUAR.

THE LORD OF LETHINGTON TO —.

Take not in evil part of this long time ye have receaved no letters from me, albeit I have receaved divers from you. The cause was for no means I could make, I could not convey any to you. Albeit ye may think me negligent in writing, some men in Scotland think I have been more busy in doing than they allow of, and will recompense me accordingly, and they may get their hand beyond me by any fashion, but that

shall be as late as I may. The bearer can declare you the whole state of the country; what the nobility has done in the Quene's causes, and of the in-coming of a part of the English forces to this town,* and passing forward they gave it out to us that they will not meddle with the division of titles, and in the mean season they own they join their forces with five or six Lords to suppress the rest; wherein I marvel mickle how the Quene's Majestie of England is advised to cast off the amity of all Scotland for the pleasure of such a few number that cannot at length serve her Highnes' turn in anything, and whose forces her subjects that are here can testify to be of so small moment, that now this day when they past towards Lithquo, all the Scottismen that are in their company hath not made them two hundred horses. It is a mystery to me wherof I cannot conceive the reason, that so many noblemen who would be glad to do the Quene of England service, should be altogether neglected by her for the pleasure of a few inferior to them in degree, forces and all other things, whereby otherwise they who were well affected to the Quene of England are constrayned to seek foreign aid for their defence.

* "When the English rebels had now retired themselves into the innermost parts of Scotland, and associating themselves with other men of their quality, threatened fire and sword to the borderers in England, and to those of the King's party in Scotland, Sussex, as soon as Drury was returned, sent him back again the seventh day after into Scotland, with twelve hundred foot and four hundred horse, who at Coldingham received hostages for the Earles of Anguse, Morton, Marre, and Glencarne, and for the Barons of Reuven and Lindsey, who had with much entreaty invited the English. Afterwards Sussex himself marched to Edinborough, and joined his forces with the said earles, and with Lenox. All these march by Lithquo (Linlithgow) to Glasgow, from whence Hamilton, Duke of Castle-Herald, had withdrawen himselfe. From thence they turned aside to Hamilton castle, which being battered with great ordnance, was soon reduced and half razed. A good towne also of the Hamilton's was fired, and their possessions everywhere cruelly wasted all over Cluidsdale, as was also in their returne Hamilton's palace at Lithquo."—*Camden*.

The principals of this nobility have written long since to the Quene of England, but as yet have received no answer. This faction that aspires to rule without reason, and can be content neither of fellowship nor union, lays the whole burthen on me, and makes me the author of all things, thinking that they might have carried away the ball, they alone, and haled the duill without impediment, if I had not cast a trump in their way by this meane.

They go about to make me odious to England, yet I have dealt so plainly with England by my letters to my Lord of Leicester, that I think they have cause to judge well of me. I fear Mr. Randolph hath been an evill instrument, and cannot believe the Quene's Majestie would have taken the course she runnes, if she had been truly informed of the state here, as I went about to do by my letters to my Lord of Leicester, whereof I could never get answer. Because I have informed the bearer of all things, I will not trouble you with many words, but pray you that I may be sufficiently and truly informed of the state there, whereof I shall make the best to serve the turne. Every way, be sure I shall not be Lothe's wife. So I commit your Lordship to God. From the castell of Edenburgh, the 17th day of May, 1570.

Your Lordship's always to command,

CECIL TO NICHOLAS WHITE.

Mr. Whyte, I cannot well resolve what to wryte, such are the varieties and changes of tymes, that may alter my advertisements betwixt my wryting and your receipt. Therefore I will wryte of things not subject to change by me whilst I lyve. I do contynue and will not desist to love hartily the honest virtues which I am persuaded are settled and rooted in you, for the which I love you, and so will, except you make the change. I am as you have known me

if not more tormented with the blasts of the world, willing to lyve in calm places, but it pleaseth God otherwise to exercise me, in sort as I cannot shun the rages therof, though his goodnes preserveth me as it wer with the targett of his provydence, from the dangers that are gaping uppon me. *Vita hominis est militia super terram.* I use no armour of proof agaynst the darts or pellets, but confidence in God by a cleare conscience. Enough of these matters, for I know they will make you sad. Your sute hath bene long aslepe, not stirred, by reason of the noysome tumults of other affayres. In the end it is granted by her good Majesty, as by a clause included you shall see, as her Majesty hath wrytten the same in her letters to my Lord Deputie.

I thank you for your horse, and so will my wife for other things of too much chardges to you. But truly you cannot overcome her in good will, as I many tymes fynd by her earnest dealing and memoryes of you.

God send me some intermission from busynes to meditate privately upon his marvellous worth, and to exercise my thankfullness for his mercies and benefits. And so farewell, my good Nicholas Whyte. From Hampton Court, the 26th of May, 1570.

Your's assuredly,

W. CECILL.

Mr. Dillon can report all the court newes, and perchanse hath heard more than he will carry for truth with hym. Such is the plenty here, to make many tymes *ex nihilo multa*.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

BY THE QUEENE.

ELIZABETH R.

Right trusty and right wel-beloved cousin, we grete you well. Where of late we advertised you in what sort we did answer and returne the commendator of Dunfermling, wherby

we dowte that the party favoring us, (from which he was addressed,) may enter into some further dowte of our mayntenance of them then were mete or then we have cause, and seke by indirect meanes to procure some end with the contrary part, we having, since the departure of the said Dunfermling, found some new intercourse taken here and practised on the Scottish Quene's behalf to abuse us, have therefore thought good not to proceede either in such sort or with such spede to her advantage as before we were inclined.

And therefore we require you spedily and secretly to admonish our party there not to conceave any misliking by any part of our answer to Dunfermling, nor of any advantage that either the Quene of Scotts or her party shall make of our dealing with them, for indede we have lately found cause, that if the Bishop of Rosse* were not already gone to the Quene his mistres, he should not have gone, neither should have had any dealing in these matters. And it shall shortly appear, when he shall returne, their accompts of their advantages shall not be warranted, as they shall pretend. And therefore in the meane tyme we require you to comfort our party there, that in no wise they shrink or yield to the contrary. Given under our signet, at our honor of Hampton Court, the 6th of June, in the 12th year of our reigne.

RANDOLPH TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

Right honorable my verie good Lord, I have receaved your Lordship's letters of the 10th of this instant, as also the coppie of the Quene's Majestie's† contayning some more comforte towards thys Kynge's partie then was shewen unto the Comendator at his departure from the courte. I have com-

* He was arrested this year under charge of having been concerned in the rebellion of the Northern earles.

† Probably the preceding letter.

municated the whole unto my Lord of Morton, who hath conceived some better hope of the matter then before, though not withowte great perplexitie what may be done in a case so full of difficultie, and therefore myndeth for the better establishing of all matters that concern the amytie between these two countries, and that your Lordship maye the better understande the affections of men presently here at the Quene's Majestie's devotion, he myndeth owte of hande to send your Lordship Mr. Archibalde Duglas, who wil be with your Lordship by Thursdaye at none, and at Sterlinge agayne at the meeting of the Lords there, which wil be upon Sondaye nexte, where I mynde to be upon Saturdaye nexte, as also my Lord of Morton, with whom I ryde.

Because I understande that bothe my Lord of Lenox and my Lord of Mar had receaved some intelligence to their dyscontentement of the answer given to the Commendator of Domfermeling, I have this daye wrytten to them both, to retayne them in good hope untill I maye speake with themselves. In the mean tyme God I trust will worke somewhat to their comforte or better contentation.

I fynde that theie are not determined to alter their course of obediens to theire Kinge. I believe that theie will resolve shortly upon some authoritye to governe this state, wherin as theie wolde gladly have had the Quene's Majestie's advise, so see theie that it can be no longer delayed withowte perill to the whole.

Unhappie brutes are here spredde abroad of some new commotions about Midsommer nexte, that is sayde unto me shall paye home. Divers have demanded of me of the Quene our mistres' healthe, and whether the Duke's Grace be alive, as one specyalle sent unto me this morning owte of the castell to knowe it.

I spake yesterdaye with one that latelie came from Aberdeen to the Earle of Morton, to receive some advise from certayn that remayne at the King's obediens what were fit for them to do in case the Earle of Huntlye sholde with force

compell men to obeye the Quene's authority, to whom his answer was, that in any case theie sholde withstande it, and sholde not lacke that supporte that the other partie were able to give them. Whatsoever is intended, theie convene nowe at Aberdyne, the Erles of Huntlye, Athall, and Crayforde, Lord Arbrothe, Lord Oglebye, Lord Secretarie.

Their hope of France is not so greatè as it was, for since the departure of the Frenchman, theie never hearde thence.

The Ladie of Northumberlande lyeth in olde Aberdyne, in the Chanceler's howse, placed by the Lord Seton, and as it is sayde heareth masse dayly.

It is reported that the Earle of Westmorelande is imbarked thence for Flanders, with certayne in his companie. What is become of Leonard Dacres, I knowe not.

I have no farther to trouble your Lordship, but humbly take my leave.

At Edenbourge, the 13th of June, at three after noone.

Your honorable Lordship's bounde at commande,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

RANDOLPH TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

Maye it please your Lordship, I receaved this daye this letter out of the castle to be sente unto your Lordship. I praye God it contayne good matter, whereof the moste parte of men do dowte, that heare of his doings. I heare for certayne that the soldiers of Brigham have put themselves into the Regent's will, twelve score under four captaines. It is thoughte that he intendeth either to the Earle of Huntlye before his returne, or to dryve him oute of the cuntrye.

Liveston came to this towne this daye, and so to the castle, where he tolde that the peace is made in France,* that the Duke is at libertie,† and the Duke of Alva with a great force

* With the Protestants.

† The Duke of Norfolk.

upon the sea, supposed that he will lande in Scotlande. I have spoken with Moone, who I thynk knoweth more of the truthe then th'other, and as it bredeth comforte to some, so I knowe what other will dowte that what maye insue therof, either for the advancement or hynderance of the causes nowe in hande. I have no more to trouble your Lordship with at thys tyme, wherfore I take my leave.

At Edenbourge, the 12th of Auguste, 1570.

Your honorable Lordship's ever to commande,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

BY THE QUEENE.

ELIZABETH R.

Right trustie and right well beloved cousin, we grete you well. We have seen your several letters to our Secretary of the 4th and 6th of this moneth, and with them the copyes of sundry letters sent from Levinston, Lyddington, Randolph, and the Regent, and your answers to the same, and your further directions that you have taken for the aide and relief of the party favorable to us, in all which we are right satisfied, as therin beholding the contynuance of your care and wisdom in our service. And amongst other things we have taken great pleasure to reade your answers to Lyddington, wherein, besides your other good gifts proper to a nobleman, and mete for the place that ye hold under us, we do certainly see such a sufficiency of wisdom mixt with good learning, as we are glad to thynk that Lyddington, who is accompted the flower of the witts in Scotland, shall see himself overmatched, and we surely judge uppon the matter much confounded, not onely with the truth, but with the sharp and good order of the explaining of the same. Truly, cousin, we have alwaies judged you wise, and we know you very sufficient for the place you hold, but we have not seen at any tyme a more absolute

proof of your witt and learning, then in these your late answers to Lyddington, and we fynd all others that do reade the same to be of like opinion. For one matter, wherof you desire answer, which is, what assurance you shall require of the Duke and his partye for performance of the act wherof we accorded to the Bishop of Ross, upon consideration of your owne writing, doubting that they will not give hostages, we think it sufficient at this tyme to have their writings with their hands and seales, as Lyddington semeth to offer. But if there shall followe hereafter any argument for the Quene of Scotts, we must of necessitie then have hostages of good persons and some castels, either in our own possession, or the possession of such as shall be thought will allwayes depend upon us, and upon the yong King. And so we see yourself doth alwayes by your writing to Lyddington press, that the suretyes to be made for us must be of that nature, that they may be in our possession to command, and not depend at the pleasure of them from whom they shall procede. We are sorry that you could not have attempted the enterprise upon the west borders without money, wherof some portion is already upon the waye, and we wishe ye could devise how to borow any further somme there, to be repayd here at London, because that the cariage is so tedious and dilatory. And upon your letters and the Treasurer's bills, the same shall be payd.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Cheneys, the 12th day of August, 1570, the 12th yere of our reigne.

RANDOLPH TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

I have receaved your Lordship's letters of the 16th of this present, with the letters to the Regent, to the Lords Liveston and Liddington, and the coppie of the same to myself, and for the publishing of your Lordship's intent in this jorneye I

have done and do as much as I can. I perceive now that Lyddington is cast behind hand, and put besides his diet. He must now run another course, or else it will be hard for him to come to the part he looked for. I send your Lordship a letter sent unto me from the Regent. If any such thing be agreed, your Lordship knoweth, which carrieth no probability with it; but because it is a thing that will most discontent the people, it is devised to make them have an evil opinion of the Queen my mistress, as also that brute spread here that your Lordship was minded to besiege this Castel, in which he hath presently two hundred and twenty persons, and doth believe that he is able to keep it for a whole year against either England or France.

The Earl of Huntley, with that force he had, eight hundred persons, came into Angus after the Regent's departure, burnt a house and a mill, broke the grindstones, and went his way.* I will trouble your Lordship no longer.

God prosper your Lordship in your journey, and good success in all that your Lordship taketh in hand.

At Edenborough, the 21st of Auguste, 1570.

Yours ever to command,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

The brute is that the Lord of Boyde is taken.

————— TO THE COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY.†

My most humble dutie remembred unto your honorable

* This exploit of the Earl of Huntley will give a good idea of the kind of depredations carried on by Mary's friends in Scotland, and by her borderers on the English.

† Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of John Hardwick, of Hardwick in Derbyshire. She was the Earl's second wife, and had before been thrice married, first to Robert Barley, of Barley in Derbyshire, se-

good Ladyship, may it please the same to understande, that I have sent you here inclosed the articles of peace concluded and proclaimed through all Fraunce,* in Frenche, because they be not at this hour to be had in Englishe (which be translated, and in printing,) and if the peace be kept, the Protestants be indifferently well. The great sitting is done at Norwiche, and I do heare credibly that Apellyerde, Thromorton, Redman, and another, is condemned to be hanged, drawen, and quartered; and Hobert, and two moo, be condemned to perpetuall imprisonment, with the losse of all their goodes and landes during their lives; the four condemned for high treason, and th'other for reconsilement.† They were charged of these four pointes; the destruction of the Quene's person; the imprisonment of my Lord Keper, my Lord of Leicester, and Secretary Cicell; the setting at libertie out of the tower the Duke of Norfolk; and the banishment of all strangers; and it fell out in their examination that they wolde have imprisoned Sir Christopher Haydon and Sir William Buttes, the Quene's levetenants.‡ None of

condly to Sir William Cavendish, and next to Sir William St. Loo, captain of the guard to Queen Elizabeth. Lodge describes her "a woman of a masculine understanding and conduct; proud, furious, selfish, and unfeeling." She died immensely rich, and left all her property to her children by Sir William Cavendish.

* This was the close of the third civil war in France, during which the oppressed Protestants had been aided by Elizabeth, and in which, among others, the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh had served as a volunteer in their service.

† Or misprision of treason.

‡ Camden gives us a brief account of this plot. Certain Norfolk gentlemen, he tells us, with the intent of setting the Duke at liberty, proposed to take the opportunity of the fair at Harlston, and to gather the country people under pretence of driving out the poor Netherlanders, who had come into England to seek an asylum from the horrible persecutions of the Duke of Alva. It would seem, from their confessions, that their designs were connected with the whole series of plots which were at this time in working. Camden says that only three of the conspirators were executed.

them coulde excuse themselves of any of the four pointes, saving Appellyarde said that that he meant nothing towards the Quene's person, for that he meant to have had them to a bankete and to have betrayed them all, and have wonne credit thereby with the Quene. Througmorton was mute, and wolde say nothing till he was condemned, who then said, "They be full merry now that wil be as sorry within these fewe dayes." Mr. Bell was attorney for Mr. Gerrarde, he being one of the judges; and Mr. Bell alleged against Appelyerde that he was consenting to the treason before, alleging one Parker's wordes, that was brought prisoner with Doctor Story out of Flanders, that Parker hearde of the treason before Nallard came over to the Duke of Alva. And there stode one Bacon by that hearde Parker say so. My Lord offered a booke to Bacon to sweare. "O, my Lord," sayth Appelyerde, "will you condemn me of his oathe, that is registered for a knave in the Booke of Marters?"

They had set out a proclamation, and four provisies; one was touching the wantonnes of the court, and th'other touching this lande to be conquered by the Scottes; and two moo that I cannot remember. There was many in trouble for speaking of seditious wordes. Thomas Sicell* sayd that the Duke of Norfolke was not of that religion, as he was accustomed to be; and that his cosen Sicell was the Quene's darling, who was the cause of the Duke of Norfolke's imprisonment, with suche lyke, who is put off to the next assyse. Anthony Midelton said, "my Lord Morley is gone

* "Richard Cecil, father of Lord Burghley, had a younger brother, David, who was probably the father of this Thomas. No notice is taken in the pedigrees of that time of David's issue, and it is not unlikely that the Treasurer interfered to prevent any record of a Romish and disaffected branch of his family."—*Lodge*. The latter part of this extract is a fair specimen of the ill feeling which runs too often through the works of the writers against Elizabeth. What reason can there be for attempting to throw a stain on the great minister, because a distant and obscure branch of his family wants a pedigree?

to fet the Duke of Alva into Yermouthe, and if William Kete had not accused me, Througmorton, and the reste, we had had a hote harvest ; but if the Duke of Norfolke be alive, they all dare not put them to deathe." Medcalfe said that he wolde helpe the Duke of Alva into Yermouthe, and to washe his handes in the Protestantes' bloude. Marshame said, that my Lord of Leicester had two childerne by the Quene, and for that he is condemned to lose bothe his eares, or ells pay a hundred pounds presently. Chipline said, he hoped to see the Duke of Norfolke to be King before Michelmas next ; who doth interpret that he meant, not to be King of England, but to be King of Scotland.

Mr. Bell and Mr. Sollicitor saide bothe to this effect to the prisoners, " What mad fellowes were ye, being all rank papistes, to make the Duke of Norfolke your patrone, that is as good a Protestant as any is in England ; and, being wicked traitors, to hope of his helpe to your wicked intents and purposes, that is as true and as faythfull a subject as any is in this lande, saving only that the Quene is mynded to imprison him for his contempte."

Doctor Story* is at Mr. Archdeacon Wattes' house, in custody, besides Powles. Thurlby, late bishopp of Ely, dyed this last weeke at Lambethe.

The Spanyshe Quene † is arrived in the Lowe Countries,

* " And now the Duke of Alva prohibited all commerce with the English, and appointed searchers, that nothing should be brought in or carried forth of the Netherlands by them ; amongst all which searchers John Story, an English fugitive, Doctor of the Lawes, was the most subtile and diligent ; who had before consulted with Prestall, a magical impostour against the Queen's life, and had suggested counsels to the Duke of Alva for invading his country. But he being allured by a wile into a ship, which was reported to have brought over English merchandise and heretical books, they presently set sayle and brought him into England, where he was afterwards executed." Camden, in 1569.

† Anne, eldest daughter of Maximilian II., married to Philip II. of Spain.

and will embark as soone as may be. The Emperor is setting forward his other daughter* towards Mettes, to be married to the Frenche King.

It is written, by letters of the 28th of the last, from Venice, that the Turke hath landed in Ciprus a hundred thousand men or moo; and hath besieged the two great cities within that kingdome, Nicosia and Famagosta. At one assault at Famagosta they lost twelve thousand men, upon the which repulse the Beharbey¹ of Nattolia, the generall of the Turke's army, writte to the Great Turke his master, that he thoughte it was unvincible; he answered that if they did not wyne it ere they came, they sholde be put to the sworde at their return home. The Turke hath sent another army by land against the Venetians, into Dallmatia, and are besieging of Zara with twenty thousand footemen and twenty thousand horsemen, and divers townes they have taken, as Spalatro, Elisa, Eleba, and Nona, with great spoile and bloudshede; and it is written that the Turke's severall armies be above two hundrethe thousande men against the Venetians. The men first sent by the Venetians fell so into diseases by the waye, as they were fayne to prepare new men, which it is thought will hardly come to do any good in Ciprus. A man may see what accompte is to be made of these worldly thinges, as to see in a small tyme the thirde state of Christendome in security, power, and welthe, to be in danger of utter overthrowe in one yere.

They say my Lord of Leicester hath many workemen at Killingworthe* to make his house stronge, and dothe furnish it with armour, munition, and all necessaries for defence. And thus Jesus have my Lorde, and your Ladyship, and my

* Elizabeth, second daughter of Maximilian, married to Charles IX. of France.

¹ Begler-bey.

† Kenilworth. The Protestant nobles were now full of apprehensions of troubles soon to break out by the intrigues of the Catholics.

friendes, in his tuition, to God's pleasure. Scribeled at London, the last of August, 1570.

Your good Ladyship's ever to commande during lyfe.

RANDOLPH TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

It may please your Lordship to be advertised, I have receaved your letters by Reade, my Lord of Morton's servant, and have hearde his reporte of your Lordship's journey, and also what answer he receaved of your Lordship of that he came for. I truste nowe those thinges will growe shortly to some quietnes upon the borders, if for performance of them there be as much diligens used of this parte as hathe bene.

I have moved this daye the Regente for the meting. He came to towne upon Wensdaye, chiefly to take order therefor, attending only the coming of the Earle of Morton, which wil be this night or to-morrowe, and thereafter your Lordship shall knowe what is resolved therupon with all the speede that I can advertise your Lordship. There came into this towne with the Regent only the Earle of Marre. This daye there came the Lord Lindesaye, to morrowe the Lord Ruthen is looked for, and other, if theie be not staid at home to see what will become of the convention this daye at Donkell, where meete certayn of the Duke's friends, Argile, Athall, Huntlye, Liddington, and manye other of that sorte, to give answer unto the Lord Liveston for th'assistance of Englande, and to give audience unto the two straungers that came out of Flanders with Mr. John Hamilton, that arrived at Aberdine. More of the certaintie of these matters your Lordship shall knowe so sone as I can.

Whether it be for pollicie to make men think that Spaniards shall arrive, or a matter resolved on, I know not, but certaynly the havens and coaste of Aberdine and Mountros have bene lately sounded by men set to worke by the Earle of Huntlye.

A proclamation was lately made by hym that all men should be in readiness within twenty-three hours' warning, to withstande the olde enemies of England, that were coming to besiege the castle of Edenbourge.

It is written unto me for certayne that the Lord Seton is departed into Flanders, and the Ladie of Northumberland with him. It is also told me that my Lord of Westmorelande, Tempeste, and some other, are readie to departe. Better assurance your Lordship shall have by the nexte. Mone, the Regent's servant, is found to be a trafiquer with contrarie partye to his master. Above twenty letters found abowte hym, of these manie in cipher from Liddington. Theie shal be all sent unto your Lordship, as also hymself within verie fewe dayes. The Lord of Graynge, with a little encouragement from your Lordship, and some good advise howe to stande assured to have no injurie offred unto hym by this state, maye wyn hym wholly to the King's obedience, wherin I wolde that he maye have cause, notwithstanding anything past, to thynk hymself beholding to your Lordship, for surely, my Lord, I cannot but deale for hym as for one more worthy than the whole rowte of that faction.

I shall not neede to put your Lordship in remembraunce how weake my credit is, nor how little I brought hither of my owne. I truste also that it shall now stande with your Lordship's pleasure, that I shall shortly repayre towards your Lordship, with such a dyseased bodie, that if I cannot fynde the meanes shortly to retire myself to some place where I maye have it repayed, I must leave it here among those that I am sure for the moste parte care not howe shorte my lyfe is. God keepe your Lordship longe in healthe, and sende you muche better then manie of this countrie can afforde you, or els it wolde be verie hard with you. Humbly I take my leave. At Edenbourge, the fyrste of September, 1570.

Your honorable Lordship's ever to commande,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

SIR HENRY COBHAM * TO CECIL.

(Antwerp, Sept. 4, 1570.—Abstract.)

He was advised that there were in this Flemish navie appointed twenty-five warlike ships, and ten others well manned, to carry all kind of provision. The ship which carrieth the Quene is not painted like unto others, but remaineth very black. The whole army will be in readines to depart into Spaine within five daies. He understandeth assuredly, that the number of the Wallons is encreased, and as he is informed, it is sought that they must speake all French. The most parte of their souldiers are shott. Monsieur de Boussu is yet appointed Admirall of the fleet. Giveth the Quene counsell to beware of herself. The Countess of Northumberland with the Lord Seton, arrived there at Brugis the 31st of August. He is informed for suretie that Prestaull is come with the said Lords. If the manner of conveyance of Storie had been kept secret in England, or hereafter shall be well carried, I think there is, which will hazard to do the like enterprise by Prestaull. In the meantime Story can informe what practises Prestaull hath in hand for Scotland, him to be the chiefest man of most credit. If anything be ill intended from hence, it will light in Scotland. The chiefest captaines, of the which are busie in practises, is Prestaull; Story was next; now one Jermy, and Chamberlaine; in Lovain one White. The second of this present, Sir Francis Inglefield came hither, and one Nawler, of Suffolke, and Kirkbye did ride to the Countess of Northumberland with letters from these others of their consort. The King of Spaine hath bestowed on the Lords and Gentlemen of these countries the sum of 70,000 crowns of yearlie revenues in land and fee, and 40,000 a yeare shal be given

* Sir Henry Cobham, descended of a very ancient Kentish family, was employed in several embassies by Elizabeth. He was a great enemy to Sir Francis Walsingham and his party.

in recompense unto the Duke of Alva, and his sons, and to gentlemen which served in these warrs ; and fifteen commendaries shal be given in this countrie. All this thus bestowed the King shall have avancing to his cofers of annual rent 305,000 crowns, besides the donative of six millions to be paid in six yeeres, as ransome for the tenth and twentie pennie they should have payed. The Marques Vitelly offered to him and Mr. Fitzwilliams to helpe the restitution and accord. He had cawsed the best drawer of pictures to drawe the Quene of Spaine's picture, which he desireth to be delivered unto the Quene's Majestie.

SIR HENRY COBHAM TO CECIL.

(Spire, Sept. 17, 1570.—Abstract.)

He made relation unto the Emperour of her Majestie's proceedings in the arrests of late made in the ships, the which the Duke of Alva, by King Philip's ambassadour resident in England, had done rigorouslie without just cause. He complaineth of the Pope's Bull,* delivered to a dissolute subject to be sett up at London publickly. He declared the Pope's pride giving out such writings against a Christian Prince, her Majestie being lawfully descended to the crowne, as a thing dangerous to all states. The emperor answered, although he had knowen the arrest well, yet he would heare her Majestie's opinion first. He is discontented with the Pope's Bull, and he said, that he is advertised that the Pope will call it in againe. The Emperor useth sharp words against him. He delivered her Majestie's letters, which he received with gra-

* The Pope, to aid and support all the plots of the Catholics against Elizabeth, had published a bull, depriving her of the crown, and absolving her subjects of allegiance. One Felton was bold enough to fix this bull against the gates of the Bishop of London's palace. He was afterwards taken and executed,

cious countenance. The Archduke Ferdinand doth by procurement the ceremonie of marriage for the King of France with Elizabeth, a second daughter to the Emperour. An expresse messenger is sent to the Archduke Charles. It is propounded in the Diet to have Hans and Fridericks, the Duke of Saxons' sonnes, restored to their father's patrimonie, whereof there is good hope.

RANDOLPH TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

It maye please your Lordship to understande that this bearer, Mr. Archibalde Stewarde, is of my olde acquaintance, of whose honestie I have suche assurance, that I cannot sufficientlie commende hym nor his causes to any man with whom he has to do.

I must crave your Lordship's favour for his passeporte to the courte, for suche affayres as he hath to do in some causes of his owne, agaynst a countrieman of his owne that oweth hym a great sum of money, which he hopeth by favour to recover, otherwyse it wil be greatly to his damage. This I humbly desyre at your Lordship's handes, for that I truste he will well deserve anye favor it please your Lordship to shewe hym.

I send your Lordship also a letter from the Lord of Liddington, sent unto me owte of the castle to be sente unto your Lordship. I perceave that all thinges passe by common consente betweene them, and that theie are so linked th'one with th'other, that what course soever the one runneth the other followeth the same, for where within these ten dayes I had brought them to verie good passe, I fynd hym now as farre off as ever I dyd.

I have spoken of late with the Lord Lindesaye to knowe at what poynt he wolde be at for those Englishemen he hath in hande. I fynde that he hathe a greate eye to his owne profit, and yet very desirous to be quyt of them, for the great trouble

and charge that he is at, but to anye resolute poynte he wyll not growe, more then that he wolde be gladly quit of them; he wolde the Quene sholde well paye for them, and yet wolde have them stande in assurance of their lives, otherwise he thynketh it a greate dyshonor to hymself to deliver them.

This is th'effecte of all the talke I had with hym, more then that he prayeth me to be a meane that he may be sone dyscharged of them. If your Lordship fynde it good that I shall deale farther with hym, I wyll do as your Lordship shall commande.

I have also spoken with the Lord of Loughlevin, who is as desirous as the other is to be discharged of his geste,* and standeth allmoste in the lyke termes as the Lord Lindesaye dothe, desirous to have his lyfe saved, and wil be content with any consideration for his charges that it may please the Quene's Majestie to give, desiring also me to move the same to your Lordship, whose case I more pyttie then the other, for that I knowe his state, and how he is charged manie wayes, besydes the greate losse he had of the Regent's death, his brother. I wolde to God, therefore, that there coulde be some good waye taken for hym, and that he were relieved of the charges that he is at, &c. I send your Lordship a letter given unto me by the Regent, wrytten unto hym by the Earle of Northumberland, who thynketh more of the Regent's power, or that which he thynketh that for olde acquayntance he may do for hym, then that he seeketh the readiest waye to do hymself good, which is submission to her Majestie, and other meanes to come by his pardon, then any that yet he hath used. The Regent's answer was that there wanted no good wyll to do hym good, but that there wanted much in hymself that had not soughte it where it is to be had, which is only at the Quene's Majestie's hands, by humble submission and acknowledging his offence, and

* The Earle of Northumberlande, who was confined in Lochleven castle.

other meanes that might move her Majestie to be good unto hym, untyll which were done, he coulde not do for hym as he wolde. This letter his Lordship desyreth to have sente unto hym agayne.

This morning my Lord of Morton and I have talked of manie matters, in speciall of the Border men, who have bene here ever synce Thursdaye to delyver their pledges as was agreed before the Regent. What nowe moveth them to fynde so manie delayes as theie do, your Lordship may easilye conjecture. The hope of two moneths' respite worketh wonders in their heads. This the laste daye that theie muste gyve their answer absolutely, either to do it, or to stande at their owne adventure.

I heare owte of Athall that the Lord of Lidington is removed farther into the countrie, to another place of the Lord Athall. It is tolde me that he intendeth to go into Catnes, to remayne there with the Earle of Catnes. Upon farther knowledge your Lord shall have better assurance.

I am required from my Lord of Morton to let your Lordship understande that he hathe delivered his companie of soldiers to the Regent, and what otherwise his desire is your Lordship knoweth, and dowlth not of your Lordship's good will. The Regent also, sore charged, hathe no recourse but to your Lordship's helpe. If he discharge any of that small number that he hath, dyvers incommodities may arise therupon, wherof your Lordship can well consyder, and therin truste much upon your Lordship's good will towards hym, and favour towards the cause that is nowe in hande.

Of these matters I leave to deale with your Lordship any further at thys tyme, and to ende my letter unto your Lordship with the reporte of a strange thing that lately come to my hands, wherof I thoughte it my parte to informe your Lordship before any other, that yet it may be seen and knowen what hope there is or lykelihoode of sincere dealing, where suche devises are, as by this bearer your Lordship shall receave in a boxe, in the which is a token to the Scottish

Quene, which, when your Lordship doth beholde and reade the inscription with other devyses abowte it, your Lordship may thynke that somewhat more is looked for, then that at thys tyme all matters shall take an ende. The boxe I have sealed with my owne seale, two letters are in it also, which I have not opened, leaving that to your Lordship, wysching that your Lordship sholde see what is contayned in them, or otherwyse as your Lordship fyndeth good. I wolde praye your Lordship that after you have seen the devise, and reade the letters, that the whole maye be sent unto my Lord of Leicester, sealed agayne under your Lordship's seale, by this bearer, as I have wrytten to hys Lordship that so it shal be, and that he shall so receave it from your Lordship, otherwyse I shall fayle in some parte of my promise, wherof I wolde be verie loathe. It is knowne to no man here, that either it is come to my syghte or shall come to your Lordship, but only unto this bearer whom I may sufficiently truste. I wyll no farther trouble your Lordship at thys tyme, though of this matter and some other lyke leading to the same ende I have enoughe to wryte.

God have your Lordship in his happie keeping, and sende your Lordship an honorable ende of this troublesome doing.

Humbly I take my leave, the 27th of September, 1570.

Your honorable Lordship's ever to commande,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE BISHOP OF ROSS.

Reverend father and richt traist counsellor, we grete you well. After that our letters was closit, Robeson arrivit here from Scotland, and brocht us these others, quhilk for the wrongs and extortions we see thereby hes bene usit to our faithfull subjectes during this treaty, notwithstanding the promise made on all sydis of the contrary, we wold not stay for reading

the haill, to send you the same with diligence, to the effect that ye understanding everie thing particularly and at length, ye may complayne therapone to the Quene, our gud sister, and desyre restitution and recompence for the reif and spoylie hes bene made. And seing the King our gud brother makis sute at her handes in our favor, that ye shall tell his ambassador how it is not ment *bona fide*, as was promesit, desyring him to make instance for recompence as said is, otherwise to show how displeasit his maister wil be in sic dealing with us. And send us the saide letters and other papers agayne, after ye have collectit the principall points out of the same. We are advertisit be the Lard of Lochinwar, that he has sene sundry letters of th'Erle of Morton, written to dyvers of our rebelles, quherin he encourages them with this following,—That they tak no thoght of any thing the Quene of England promises that they think may be to their disadvantage, for he is assured be her in all he does, and suppose she seme to wishe us restored, she is not myndit to do sa, but in dissembling entendis to do nathing for our profite, quhilk ye may shewe to our said gud^r sister, praying her that we may see and taste the frutes in the contrarye, quhilk we have lookit, and yet lookis for, without longer delaye, and that she give no credit to the Abbot of Dumfermling's reportis, who ever is in haist only to make feinyet inventions, wherby she may draw her favor from us. But that she consider egally the sore complaynts of the nobillmen our faithfull subjects, and make them be recompensit for the wronges they have susteynit, with greater suretie in tymes cuming. And thus referring the rest to your wisdom, we commit you to God.

At Chattisworth, the 21st day of November, 1570.

Your richt good frend and mestres,

MARIE R.

Give remeyd be not put to theis wronges, it semes no good to follow, for I think this handling by the Quene's

command should make her to treat with us, and leve our rebels, or help us ageynst them.*

SIR F. WALSINGHAM† TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Your Lordship's of the 26th of January, I receaved the 3rd of February, by the which I perceave the matter your Lordship and I talked of hath bred some speech here with you, and here the matter passeth not with great silence, but is taken to be much more forward than I perceave it is; I meane amongst the common sorte. As farre as I can learne, there will be no further overture made of this matter than already is, for here they stand uppon their reputation, and therefore would be loath to move speech unlesse they were in full hope of speed. The experience of others that have heretofore attempted the like matter, maketh them more doubtfull how to proceed. In my poor opinion, the commodities or discommodities, for taking or refusing, may easily be seene, and therefore when they are once weighed, a speedy resolution were best to cut off many inconveniences, that delay of them commonly bringeth. By my last of the 27th of January I made your Lordship acquainted with my opinion so farre forth as I could informe myself, using such circumspections in that behalfe, as is fit for me, considering the jealousy already conceived of me. But when I shall be further informed, I will not faile further to advertise your Lordship. And so for this

* The postscript is entirely in Mary's own hand.

† Sir Francis Walsingham was the youngest son of William Walsingham, of Scadbury, in Norfolk, and was one of Elizabeth's ablest ministers. He was now sent ambassador to France to treat of the marriage of Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou, which is the "matter" spoken of at the beginning of the present letter. This match, like all the others, broke upon the article of religion. Soon after Walsingham's return, in 1573, he was made first secretary of state. He was in Paris at the infamous massacre of St. Bartholomew.

time, having no leasure to write any more at large, I most humbly take my leave.

From Parris, the 3rd of Februarie, 1570.

Your Lordship's to command.

FRAUNCIS WALSINGHAM.

WALSINGHAM TO CECIL.

(Extract.)

As I was in writing, one by whom my predecessor Sir Henry Norris had his best intelligence, repaired secretly to me, and told me this newes following.

How that the enterprise of Ireland is of great consequence and danger, whereof though he thought the King was not privye, yet he did assure me that the faction of Guise were dealers in it.

Further he said that the Pope's Nuntio laboured what he might to draw Monsieur* into the practise, promising him for the maintenance thereof to be paid in Parris for his encouragement one hundred thousand crowns: he made no difficulty to bring the said enterprise to passe, in respect of the great intelligence they have both in England and Ireland, and that the same being won, it would be an easie steppe to a steppe of more consequence, meaning England.

Lastly, he shewed me that if they would not accept this enterprise, notwithstanding it was resolved that it should yet go forward, and that the bills of credit for the said sum of one hundred thousand crowns are already here. If this advertisement prove as true as other that here before hath been given by him to my predecessor, then are they not to be neglected. By another means I was advertised that Stukeley†

* The Duke of Anjou.

† Stukeley, whom we last left in Ireland, had aspired to the Stewardship of Wexford, but being disappointed, he quitted his allegiance to the Queen, and repaired to the Court of Spain, where he gained credit by his large promises of delivering Ireland into the hands of the

in Spaine presented an instrument unto the King there, not only subscribed with the names of the most part of the Irish nobility, but also the names of divers in England, of good quality, readie to be at his devotion. I learned further, that of late, since the Lord Seton's coming hither, there hath been some greater conference between the Spanish ambassador and the ambassador of Scotland than beforetyme was accustomed.

Farther I learne, that the greater parte of those that are landed in Ireland, were levied by the Earle of Argille in the King of Spaine's name, within the said Earle's government, being promised pay by the said King of Spain's ministers. They were embarked at the mule or streight of Quintire.

One Skeldon, an ordinarye servant of the Queen of Scotts, arrived lately here with letters of some importance, as it is thought, for that oftentimes he had accesse to the court.

Thus having made your Honour privye of all such thinges as I could learne, I most humbly take my leave. At Paris, the 8th of Februarie, 1570.

THE QUEEN TO WALSINGHAM.

(February 11, 1570.—Extract.)

We have by the last letters of the Duke* understood in expresse words, that he himselfe is earnestly disposed to do anything that may mayntaine the amity that is betweene the King and us, and particularly that he hath attended to have restitution made, as our marshalls on both sides have thought

Spanish King. Stukeley was highly honoured and pensioned by the King, and preparations were making for an expedition to Ireland, which gave much uneasiness to Elizabeth's ministers, but by degrees the King seems to have been somewhat disabused of his confidence in this adventurer, and his preparations were delayed by other affairs. Much curious information on Stukeley's proceedings in Spain this year will be found in Digges' Compleat Ambassador.

* The Duke of Alva.

meete, and meaneth to send over some speciall person of credit, to explain some small difficulties rising thereof, and to put the whole in execution. These kinds of dealings and offers, you may say, are very agreeable to us, who by manie meanes made appear that the late differences have not growne of us, nor as we think of the King's owne disposition, but by untowardnes of ministers. And now whilst we are well content therewith, we are sorry to think that certain reports which we hear out of Spaine should be true, either in the whole or in part, and as we would be gladdest they are false, so are we desirous that we might know them certainly from the King to be false. And you shall say because we have seen some sure proof of that ambassador's good disposition to conserve the amity betwixt the King his master and us, wherein he is much to be commended, and that he may with more expedition and readiness by the way of Fraunce certify the King and procure some answer, than he may conveniently any other ways, you shall say that we thought meete to impart these speeches which we so mislike as being altogether so contrary to that which we do conceive of the King's good will, and of those late friendly offices of the Duke of Alva, praying him not only to shew you his opinion thereof, but also to advertise the King and procure us some answer.

We have heard and knowne it to be true, that certain savage rebels, being men of no valour, had fled out of our realme of Ireland into Spaine, and to cover their lewdness, and procure both reliefe for themselves and for such like as they are in Ireland, they do pretend their departure out of the land for matter of religion, where indeed they be neither of one nor other religion, but given to beastiality, and yet have they writt enough to shewe hypocrisy for their purpose. Since the first arrival of some of these, we knowe also that an Englishman, a subject of ours, named Stewckley, not unknowne (as we think) for his former prodigall life, both in Spaine, and other places, and notwithstanding great favour shewn unto him divers tymes upon hope of amendment, and

some tokens of his repentance, he did this last summer, pretending to come out of Ireland hither, suddainly turn his course into Spaine, and as we heare hath lighted into the company of the foresaid fugitives and rebels, pretending by his superfluous expenses, which is altogether of other men's goods, to be a person of some quality and estimation, and able to do some great thing in Ireland, whereas he hath not the value of a marmaduke in land, or livelihood, he hath so solicited the King, or some about him, with vayne motions, as it is by him bruited, and otherwise also with some credit reported unto us, which yet we do not believe, that the King will send a Captaine of his, such a one as Julian Romero,* or such like, with a number of souldiers into Ireland to followe some vaine device of those rebels. Whereof we cannot but marvel that the King or any of his counsell, being of experience, can so lightly give any credit to such a companion as Stewkley is, who could never live long in any quiet condition at home, of whom we are not disposed to say much, because we cannot say any good of him, but may say, it shall be sufficient that his conditions may only be enquired of, then we doubt not whosoever shall know that will take heed how to adventure any thing with him. And yet whatsoever he is, we cannot but finde it straunge that either he or any such fugitives moving matters of attempt as rebels should either be allowed or hearkened unto, for whatsoever hath been conceived that any person of any degree, being the King of Spaine's subjects, coming into our realme of late years, as many have done for safetie of their lives for matters of their consciences, (as we alwayes understood,) yet we do assure this of our honour, that there was never person of any degree, that did motion unto us any matter offensive to the King or to his Low Countries, when opportunities served for such purposes, that was ever allowed by us, or any such motion, or that ever received reward, or comfort

* Julian Romero was the captain appointed by the King of Spain to attend Stukeley into Ireland.

therein, but was rejected. Such hath been our sinceritie in these tymes, not to give any comfort to the hurt of the King or of his countries; and now, if these reports which we heare should be true, we might think ourselves evil recompensed, and should be provoked for our defence to use such meanes as otherwise of ourselves we did never allow or like.

LORD BURGHEY TO NICHOLAS WHITE.

Mr. Whyte, I do the more hartily thank you for your letter sent me by this bearer, my Lord of Ormond's servant, because otherwise I had not before that tyme heard of your health and estate; and for that no other thyng is to be committed to letters, that shall be carryed so far, but that which may endure any wynds, I will not occupy this my letter with any matter of doubtfull interpretation, and therefor I hartily commend me and my good will to be ready allwais to pleasure you, whylest I thynk you honest, and carefull for the service of the Quene and your countrey.

I wish you had good occasion to be spared from thence awhile, but I doubt your countrey people are over busy to occupy there all good servants to withstand the attempt of the evill.

Sorry am I to see that countrey not to go forward in peace, but rather to go backward, and to be a loathsome chardg to this crown.* *Pene mihi nauseum movit ista profusio et inutilis inanitio fisci regii.* God send some stay! and so with my wyve's commendation, I end. At Grenwyche, 14 March, 1570.

Yours, not changed in frendshipp, though in name,† and

* He alludes to the attempted rebellion of O'Brien Earl of Thomond.

† Cecil was created Baron Burghley, on the 25th of February preceding.

yet that not unknown to you when you were with me nere Stamford.

W. BURGHLEY.

My stile is, Lord of Burghley, if you meane to know it, for your writing, and if you list to wryte truly, the poorest Lord in England.* Commend me to your Chief Baron, Mr. Dillon.

THE COUNTESS OF NORTHUMBERLAND TO SIR THOMAS
STUKELEY.

For that I do not heare that you have yet taken your jorney eastwards,† as you were determyned, I will hope that you shall otherwise be more readily employed to the benefit of your countrey and your owne worthie desire, and therefore thought good to sende you these fewe lynes to advertise you how ready I am to do myself, and to procure others, as I am able, to do anything you shall think metest for the benefit and advancement of your zeale and laudable enterprise, as more at large I have signified to the Duchesse,‡ her noble Grace, who (I do assure me) will imparte the same with you, to whose Grace not you only, but we all and our whole nation stande so deeply bounde, as we may dewly acknowledge her to be sent of God, especially provided to be in that place, as another Josephe to relieve the miseries of her countrey, and to be a patronesse for us all that do endure.

I have long since sent my letters to Rome to mete with you there, and therein have fullie answered the requests of your former letters, as by the same you shall fullie perceave,

* In fact, somewhere about this time we read of his being obliged to sell some of his smaller offices.

† Stukeley was still in Spain, but was preparing to go to Rome, to lay his project of conquering Ireland before the Pope. He was knighted by the King of Spain.

‡ The Duchess of Feria.

if your determination thither do holde. Th'Erle,* the Lord Dacre, and all the rest of the gentlemen, send you their most effectual commendations, wishing you good speede in all your attempts. From Meklyn, this 21st of June, 1571.

Your frende, as you know, most assured for ever,

A. NORTHUMBERLAND.

I beseeche you, good Sir Thomas, to be the meane to procure for me the pictures of the Duke and Duches of Feria their Graces, and of my Lord Don Laurence, wherin you shall do me suche a pleasure as I shall stande bound to you for ever, to acknowledge it to the full, if ever it lye in my power.

LORD BURGHELEY TO SIR RALPH SADLER, SIR THOMAS SMITH, OR DR. WILSON.†

Sir, I have receaved this paper included out of Ireland, which I send you by the Quene's Majesty's commandment, to be consydered by you; and the party named, John Synclar,‡

* Of Westmoreland.

† In the course of this year was discovered the fearful train of conspiracies which the Papists had been so long plotting against the Queen's life and the protestant government, by the seizure of a packet of letters on a foreigner, who was employed by some of the conspirators. It was found that one Ridolphi, a Florentine, who was commissioned by the Pope into England "to sow sedition," and the Bishop of Ross, for his mistress the Queen of Scots, were the most active agents. Some of the Privy Council were at the Tower both day and night to examine different persons who were seized on the informations of others, and the further the examinations were pursued, the more serious they appeared. The Duke of Norfolk, who had never ceased his secret practices, was again committed to the Tower, was unanimously condemned by his peers of high treason, and was in the year following brought to the scaffold. The Bishop of Ross, also, was committed to custody.

‡ The gardener of the Duke of Norfolk.—See the Examinations in Murdin, p. 90, 102.

is to be enquired for, and to be apprehended, for the causes expressed in the wryting.

I thynk some things untruly reported, specially that of Sir H. Nevill.* This night, about twelve of the clock, I receaved your letter, with a letter there included to the Quene's Majesty, who is not styrring, and therefore I can wryte nothing at this tyme.

I pray you commend me to Sir R. Sadler. From Lees,† this 8th of September, 1671, above nine of the clock.

I heare the Regent in Scotland is slayne by a stratageme in this sort: On Monday last, two hundred and forty horsemen, a hundred footemen, all of the castle of Edenborough, stale to Sterling towne, which they entered quietly and tooke the Regent and all the Lords of his present, in their beds, and when they were carrying them away, their soldyers fell to spoyle, and a power of the castle of Styrlyng issuing out, rescued them all, and slew their takers, but in this fight the Regent was hurt, and by some advertisements I heare that he is dead.‡ Lett Mr. Sadler know herof, but otherwise disperse it not, lest it be not trew that he is dead, and I wold have no knolledg come to Lady Lenox, before she shall have it from the Quene's Majesty.

Yours assuredly,

W. BURGHLEY.

* Some of the evidence seemed to involve Sir Henry Nevill.

† The splendid mansion of Lord Rich, in Essex. The Queen was now on a progress in Essex, in the course of which she visited Audley End, Horeham Hall, Mark Hall, and Lees.

‡ "It is true that the Erle of Lenox, late Regent, was slain after that he was taken, by commandment of Claud Hamilton, and he that killed hym named Calder, who hath confessed it. The Erle of Marr is confirred Regent by parlement at Sterling, whereto the Erles of Argile, Eglinton, Cassells, and Crawford, with the Lords Boyd and St. Colme, have sworne and subscribed."—*Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sept. 13, in Lodge.*

EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO LORD BURGHELEY.†

After my most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship, this Queen's answer may appeare to you in my letters nowe unto the Quene's Majestie. She shewed herself exceeding sorowfull when she heard that some of her servants should be removed from her, and semed to dispayre of the continuance of her life, but respecting my duty, without credit to her words, I applyed myself to take order in despatching away her servants above the number appoynted, and driven I was to name them that should remaine about her. But those that I named would have departed with the rest also, if I would have suffered them, upon policie to have the other still to remaine with them, alledging that they would not nor could not serve without them, insomuch as I have had more

* The examinations of persons concerned in the plot, and the secret correspondence which had, by different means, fallen into the hands of the government, implicated the Queen of Scots so deeply, and laid open such an extensive and dangerous series of intrigues and treasonable practices, that it was thought right to put her under further restraint, and to reduce the number of her servants. The Earl of Shrewsbury was also ordered, for the time, to stop all communication with her, and to seize upon all letters or messengers that might be sent to her. The answer of Lord Burghley to this letter, dated September 13, is printed in Lodge, ii. 57. He says, "The Quene's Majesty hath willed me to advertise you that she had found a very dangerous attempt intended by the Quene of Scotts, and the Duke of Norfolk to be privie therof; who hath made a very lamentable submission to her Majesty, with a request for her mercy; but I see her Majesty entered into a great indignation agaynst hym. Her Majesty wold have you also to continue her former direction, and to dispatch away the number that are separated from her as they shall desyre passport; and for such as shall desyre to pass into France, to give them passport to come to London, and from thence to the court; and for such as will return into Scotland, to gyve them direction to pass by one of the wardens; and for the Lord Levynston and his wyfe, to use them favorably, that they may at their commodity depart where they shall desyre. As for Robynson, her Majesty would have you direct hym to Scotland."

trouble this daye in that matter then ever I had in one daye. These ten persons I thought good to stay till the Quene's Majestie's pleasure be knowne of them, partly for that they dare not for danger of their lives passe into Scotland.

The Lord Leviston also, though I named him to tarry about her, mynding to departe hence, desired to repayre up unto the courte, which I utterly denyed, but stay hym untill her Majestie's pleasure be knowen, and so doth he remayne here expecting the same. At the writing hereof, Robinson came hither, with letters and pacquets from the Bishop of Rosse and the French ambassador, all which I do herewith send unto your Lordship, and have committed Robinson in sure keeping, without conference, untill I heare from your Lordship, which I desire may be with speede. I thank your Lordship most heartely for your frendly answer touching the vaine person that said I offered to shewe him this Quene. The reporte of me herein was utterly false, and therefore it might well be such a glorious foole, that for his owne prayse boasted more favor of me in that case then ever I shewed to any.

The Lady Leviston remaineth still sick here, as she hath bene this eight weeks, not able to travell. I desire to know her Majestie's pleasure of her, for she is out of the number appointed, because she meaneth to departe hence so sone as she is able to travell. Thus for this present I committ your Lordship to the Allmighty. From Sheffield, * this 9th of September, 1571.

Your good Lordship's ever assured,

G. SHREWSBURY.

* The Queen of Scots had been removed from Tutbury to Sheffield Castle, in the August of 1569.

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

It may please your most excellent Majestie to understande, that according to your Highnes's letters of the 5th of this instant, I have declared unto the Quene of Scotts the discovery of unlawful intelligence and practises betwene the Duke of Norfolk and her, and of her deliberation for escape; and that the very cause of your Majestie's offence is in that your Highnes understands her labors and devises to stirre up a newe rebellion in this realme, and to have the King of Spayne to assist it. She answered, that as for the Duke, he hathe to answer for his own doings. "I have not," saythe she, "delte with him synce the tyme of his restraunte, nor used any moyaunce unto him, neither have I gone about to styrre up a rebellion in this realme, nor intended any harme unto the Quene, or any her subjects; * although," sayth she, "the Quene hath mayntained my rebels against me, to the taking away of my crowne from my head." Thus by her words she thought to seme cleare, thoughe her dedes are discovered to the contrary. But urging my former sayings to be certainly trewe, I said, that seeing she had so used herself, your Majestie had juste cause to alter your courteous dealing, as well in restrayning her libertie, as also in taking away such number of persons from her as are mete rather for practice then for service necessary, and told her rowndly, therefore, that all above the number of ten persons must depart from her, and that with spede. At this she was excedinglie troubled, weping and sorrowing, and said that now she loked shortely that her life shuld end, "for thus dothe the Quene use me," saith she, "to that purpose; yet I desire," saith she, "that some good, learned man may be with me before my death to

* Mary was not at all aware of the extent of the discoveries which had been made, and the Earl of Shrewsbury had, according to his directions, studiously kept her ignorant of them. He knew well that this declaration of the Scottish Queen was utterly false.

comfort and stay my conscience, being a Christian woman, and the world shal know," said she, "that I died a trewe Prince, and in the Catholike faithe that I professe." I said unto her, that she had no cause to use any such words, nor to think any evill of your Majestie, that had alwais so courteslie dealte with her above her deserts. And I called then earnestlie for her checke rolle,* and demanded whom she wold choose to the said number to attend on her. She answered, for any thing that I could do, that she wold name none. "Let the Quene," saithe she, "do with me what she will." Then I named them myself, bothe men and women, mentioned in this schedule, and have taken order for despaching away the rest, according to your Highnes' commandement, saving some that I have stayed in safe keping, untill your Majestie's pleasure be further knowen, which I do humbly desire your Majestie to knowe.

I have surelie ordered that neither she, nor any attendant on her, shal departe out of these my gates, untill your Majestie shal otherwise commande me; neither can any devises or practises be used in bringing or sending any intelligence to any of them, but I trust and am assured the same shal be met withall; suche order have I given streightly to be kept every respect. Whereunto, notwithstanding, I shal not faile to applie my daily studie and care according to my dutie. Thus trusting that your Majestie woll please to take these my doings in good part, I beseech Almighty God to preserve your Highnes eternally. From Shefeld Castle, this 9th of September, 1571.

Your Majestie's most humble servant,

and obedient subject,

G. SHREWSBURY.

* A copy of which check-roll is given in Lodge, ii. 52.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR THOMAS SMITH AND DR. WILSON.

Sir, the Quene's Majesty hath commanded me to will you to speak with Charles * in the Tower, and newly to examyne hym of the letters that Rydolfi caused hym to wryte to the Bishop of Rosse and others, and to express the contents therof, and to sett down the alphabett† of the same.

I do return to you Barkar's‡ examynations, dowting lest the lack of them might hynder the service you have in hand.

The Quene's Majesty thynketh that you have heretofore stayed in surety all the Duke's wrytings at his house. It is ment that all his houses shall be visited and his goods inventoryed.

The Earle of Marr is made Regent by Parlement. The Erle of Lennox was slayn by one Calder, at the commandement of Claude Hamilton, and all the King's party have sworn in parlement to reveng it, for which purpose they assemble their whole forces to be at Leth the 2nd October; and so wishing your return,

Yours assuredly,

16 Sept. 1571.

W. BURGHEY.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.§

Sir, your letter dated yesterday came to me, even now almost 9 of the clock, so as fynding that you and Mr. Wilson meane to tarry there but untill noone, I see it superfluous to wryte anythyng unto you, and though I wold, yet at this

* Charles Bailly, a Fleming, the seizure of whom led to the discovery of the plot. He had been employed by the Queen of Scots and Ridolphi to carry secret letters.

† The cypher.

‡ The examinations of William Barker are given in Murdin, p. 87.

§ Addressed to Sir Thomas Smith, "at St. Catharyns by the Tower."

present her Majesty is not to be spoken withall, for that her chamber doore is not open. She was yesternight very inquisitive what was written or sent by you. I told her considering you could not deale with the party before yesterday, being Sondaye, it wold be this daye before you could certify anything. I thynk her Majesty will be very desirous to heare of the contents of the little cipher, and in my opinion that other is the Bishop of Rosse's.* If this letter come to you before you come to London, you may tarry, and yet send hyther some more knolledg, for it is lykely that her Majesty will have you speke with the Duke. 3rd Sept. 1571.

Yours assuredly,

W. BURGHLEY.

I miss the paper booke for Capt. Maltby.

* The Bishop of Ross, seeing every thing discovered beyond his expectation, and being in personal danger, for he was closely imprisoned, and it had been decided that he might be proceeded against as a subject for high treason, fell faint-hearted, avowed himself penitent for his evil practices, and made some important confessions, at which his mistress seems to have been much disconcerted, and enraged against him. Many of his confessions, which are well worth reading, are printed in Murdin. "The byshoppe seemeth to me," says Dr. Wilson to Lord Burghley, (Nov. 8, in Murdin, p. 57,) "to be verie gladde that these practyses are come to light, saying they are all naught, and he hopeth that when folke will leave to be lewde, his mystresse shall speed the better. He saythe farther, upon speech that I had with hym, that the Quene his mystresse is not fit for any housebande; for first he saythe, she poysoned her housebande the French Kinge, as he hath credibly understoode; agayne, she hath consented to the murder of her late housebande the Lord of Darnley; thyrdly, she matched with the murderer, and brought him to the field to be murdered; and last of all, she pretended marriage with the Duke, with whom, as he thynketh, she would not longe have kepte fayth, and the Duke should not have had the best dayes with her. *Lord, what people are these, what a Quene, and what an ambassador!*"

COUNTESS OF WESTMORELAND* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

As I am bound, I give your Lordship most humble thanks for my poor husband, whom your carefull frendship alwayes seketh to bryng to better estate, although it semeth that hys own cruell fortune repugneth all good meanes and endeavours that may be used to do hym good. For myn own part, I heard not of hym a long tyme, and, which grieves me not a lyttle, I feare he hath not received my last letter, because he maketh no answer ; but I beseche your Lordship most humbly to continue your goodnesse, trusting in the ende a more happy effect may followe.

I have also most humbly to thank your Lordship for your continuall goodnes to myselfe, and for the lease of the parkes at Branspethe, it pleased you to procure me at the Quene's Majesty's hand. Yet I am forced, although I be very loathe so often to trouble your Lordship, to be a suter to you that my lease in one poynt may be amended, which is thys, that the Quene's Majesty hath there graunted it to me no longer then it please her to kepe it in her own handes ; so that if either herselfe or successours shall either give it or sell it, my lease is of no valewe. In consideration wherof, I beseche your Lordship to shewe me so much favour as I may have a newe lease graunted for twenty yeres, in such sort as I may enjoye it quietly howsoever her Majesty bestow the land, and that it may passe in the name of this bearer, my servant, John Emerson. Thus leaving to trouble your Lordship, I end, remayning your poore frend, and wyshing all good hap to your Lordship and all yours. From Fremingham, this 10th of October.

Your Lordship's most bound during lyfe,

J. WESTMORELAND.

* This letter, and the one printed at p. 391, contrast strongly the different characters of the ladies of the two rebel Earls.

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, after I had depeched this bearer, this Quene make eftesones great complaynte unto me of her sickly estate, and that she loked verily to perishe therby, and used diverse melancholy words, that it is ment it should so come to passe without helpe of medicine, and all because I was not ready to send up her phisician's letters unto you. Which indede I refused, for that I perceived her principall drifte was and is to have some libertie out of these gates, which in no wise I will consent unto, because I see no small perill therin.

Notwithstanding, leste she should think that the Quene's Majestie had commanded me to denye her suche reasonable meanes as might save her life, by order of phisick, I thought it not amisse, uppon her said complaynt and instance, to send up the said letters here inclosed, to be considered on as shall stand with the Quene's Majestie's pleasure. But truly I wold be very loathe that any libertie or exercise should be graunted unto her, or any of hers, out of these gates, for feare of many daungers nedeles to be remembered unto you. I do suffer her to walke upon the leades here in open ayre, in my large dyning chamber, and also in this court yard, so as bothe I myself or my wife be allwaise in her company, for avoyding all others' talk either to herself or any of hers. And sure watche is kept within and without the walles, bothe night and day, and shall so contynewe, God willing, so long as I shall have the charge. Thus I commit your good Lordship unto God. From Shefeld Castle, this 12th of December, 1571.

I cannot perceyve that she is in any present perill of sickness. If any ensue I will not faile to advertise the same unto your Lordship with all diligence, but I must here eftesones

advertise your Lordship that I am utterly against any further libertie unto her.

Your Lordship's ever assured,

G. SHREWSBURY.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO HIS CHILDREN.*

Deare children, this is the last letter that ever I thinke to write to you, and therefore if you loved me, or that you will seeme gratefull to me for the speciall love that I have ever borne unto you, then remember and follow these my last lessons. O Philip,[†] serve and feare God above all thinges, I finde the fault in myselfe that I have, God forgive me, been negligent in this poynte. Love and make much of your wife, and therin, considering the great adversity you are now in,

* Superscribed, "To my loving children, specially to Phillip and Nan." Sentence was pronounced upon the Duke on the 16th of January, but it was not executed till the second of June. The following memorial, written before his death, and printed by Murdin, may illustrate some things in the present letter.

"Gifts to my friends :

To my Lord Keper, the crystall cuppe with stones.

To my Lord of Sussex, my best george, chaine, and garter.

To my Lord of Leycester, my shyp crystall glasses.

To my Lord Burley, a piece of clothe of gold, and a rubye ryng.

To Sir Walter Myldmaye, my trunke crystall glasse, and the other of byrall, trymmed with golde, and my gold spones, with pearle.

Nothing to be done, neither by my children nor servants, without my Lord Burley's pryvitie.

I desyre that Nane and Mege myght continue together.

So lykwise my three sonnes, till years alter the course of their life.

And if it might be, that Mall and little Besse were also kept together.

Twenty pound a yeare to be allowed to Mr. Fox."

[†] Philip was the Duke's eldest son by his first wife, Mary, daughter of Henry Fitzwilliam, Earl of Arundel, which title he inherited by right of his mother.

by reason of my fall, is your greatest present comfort and reliefe, besides your happines in having a wife which is endued with so great towardnes in resolve and good qualities, and in person comparable with the best sorte. Followe these two lessons, and God will bless you, and without these, as you may see by divers examples out of the scripture, and also by ordinary worldly prooffe, where God is not feared all goeth to wracke, and where love is not between the husband and the wife, there God doth not prosper.

My third lesson is, that you shew yourselfe loving and natural to your brothers and sisters and sisters-in-lawe. Though you be very young in years, yet you must strive with consideration to become a man, for it is your own presence and good government of yourselfe that must get friends. And if you take that course, then have I been so carefull a father unto you, as I have taken such order as you, by God's grace, shall be well able, besides your wife's lands, to maintayne yourselfe like a gentleman. Marry, the world is greedy and covetous, and if the shewe of the well government of yourselfe do not feare and restrayne theyr greedy appetite, it is like that by undirect means they will eyther put you from that which lawe layeth upon you, or else dryve you to much trouble in trying and holding your right. When my grandfather dyed I was not much above a yeare older then you are now, and yet I thanke God I tooke such order withmyselfe, as you shall reap the commodity of my so longe passed travell, if you do now imitate the like. Helpe to strengthen your younge and rawe years with good counsell. I send you herewith a brief schedule whom I wish you to make account of as friends, and whom as servants. And I charge you as a father may do, to follow my direction therein: my experience can better tell what is fitt for you, then yet your younge years can judge.

I would wish you for the present to make your chiefe abode at Cambridge, which is the place fittest for you to prosecute your learning in, and besides is not very farr hence, whereby you may within a daye's warning be here to followe your own

causes, as occasion serveth. If after a year or two you spend your tyme in some house of the law, there is nothing that will prove more to your commodity, considering how for the tyme you shall have continuall business about your owne lawe affairs; and thereby also, if you spend your tyme well, you shall be ever after better able to judge in your owne causes. I too late repent that I followed not this course that now I wish to you, for if I had, then my case perchance had not been in so ill state as now it is.

When God shall send you to those years as that it shall be fitt for you to company with your wife, (which I had rather were sooner, then that by ill company you should fall into any ill rule,) then I would wish you to withdrawe yourselfe into some private dwelling of your owne. And if your happ may be so good, as you may so lyve without being called to higher degree, O Philip! Philip! then shall you enjoye that blessed life, which your wofull father would faine ha' done, and never could be so happye. Beware of high degrees! To a vaine glorious proud stomacke it seemeth at the first sweet, Looke into all chronicles and you shall finde that in the end it bringes heapes of cares, toyles in the state, and most commonly in the end utter overthrowe. Looke into the whole state of the nobility in tymes past, and into theyr state now, and then judge whether my lesson be trew or not.

Assure yourselfe, as you may see by the bookes of my accounts, and you shall finde that my living did hardly maintayne my expences, for all the helpe that I had by Tom's landes, and somewhat by your wive's and sisters-in-lawe, but that I was never a beggar. You shall, by the grace of God, be a great deale richer and quyeter in your low degree, wherein once againe I wish you to continue. They may, that shall wish you the contrary, have a good meaning, but believe your father, who of love wishes you best, and with the mynde that he is at present fully armed to God, who sees both states, high and lowe, as it were even before his eyes.

Beware of the court, except it be to do your prince service,

and that as neare as you can in the meanest degree : for place hath no certainty, eyther a man by following thereof hath too much to worldly pompe, which in the end throwes him downe headlong, or else he lyeth there unsatisfyed, eyther that he cannot attaine to himself that he would, or else that he cannot do for his friends as his heart desireth.

Remember these notes and follow them, and then you, by God's helpe, shall reape the commodity of them in your old years ; when you, if it be his will, may give the like advice to your owne. If your brothers may be suffered to remain in your company, still I would be most gladd thereof, because continuing still together should still increase love between you. But the world is so catching of every thing that falls, as I believe Tom being after my death the Quene's Majesty's ward, shall be begged by one or another. But yet you are sure to have your brother William left still with you, because, poore boy, he hath nothing to feed cormorants withall, to whom you will as well be a father as a brother, for, upon my blessing, I committ him to your charge to provide for, if that which I have assured him by lawe shall not be so sufficient as I meant it. If lawe may take place, your sisters-in-lawe be surely enough conveyed to the behoofe of your brothers, and then I would wish them to be brought up with some friend of myne, as for the present I allowe best of Sir Christopher Heydon, if he will so much friend you as to receyve them to sojourne with him, if not, then in some other place as your friendes shall best allow of.

And touching the bestowing of your wife and Meggy, who I would be loath should be out of your wive's company, (for as she should be a good companion for Nan, so I committ Megg of speciall trust to her,) I thinke good till you lye together, if my Lady of Sussex might be entreated to take them to her as sojourners, there were no place so fitt considering his kindred unto you, and the assured friend that I hope you shall finde of him ; besides she is a good Lady. If it will not be so brought to pass, then, by the advice of your friends,

take some other order, but in no case would I wish you to keep any house till you and your wife lye together.

Thus I have advised you, as my troubled memory can presently suffer me. Beware of pride, stubbornness, lechery, taunting, and sullenness, (which vices nature doth somewhat kindle in you,) and therefore you must with reason and discretion make a new nature in yourselfe; to give your mynde too much and greedily to gaming—make a pastyme of it and no toyle. And lastly, delight to spend some tyme in reading of the scriptures, for therein is the whole comfort of man's lyfe, and all other things are vaine and transitory, and if you be diligent of reading of them they will remaine with you continually to your proffitt and commodity in this world, and to your comfort and salvation in the world to come, whither in grace of God I am now with joye and consolation preparing myselfe. And upon my blessing beware of blinde papistry, which brings nothing but bondage to men's consciences. Mixe your prayers with fasting, not thinking thereby to merit, for there is nothing that we of ourselves can do that is good, we are but unprofitable servants: but fast, I say, thereby to tame the wicked affections of the mynde, and trust onely to be saved by Christ's precious blood, for without your perfect faith therein there is no salvation. Let workes followe your faith thereby to shewe to the world that you do not onely saye you have faith, but that you give testimony thereof to the full satisfaction of the godly. I write somewhat the more herein, because perchance you have heretofore heard, or perchance hereafter shall heare false brutes that I was a papist. But trust unto it, I never since I knew what religion meant, I thanke God, was of other mynde then now you shall heare that I dye in, although I cry God mercy I have not given fruites and testimony of my faith as I ha' ought to have done, the which is the thinge that I do now cheiflyest repent. When I am gone, forgett my condemning, and forgive, I charge you, my false accusers, as I protest to God I do, but have nothing to do with them if they lye.

Surely Bannister* dealt no waye but honestly and truly ; Hickford did not hurt me in my conscience willingly, nor did not charge me with any great matter that was of weight otherwyse then truly. But the Bishop of Rosse,† and specially Barker, did falsely accuse me, and layd theyr owne treasons upon my backe. God forgive them as I do, and once againe I will you to do ; beare no malice in your mynde. And now, dear Philip, farewell. Read this my letter sometymes over, it may chance make you remember yourselfe the better, and by the same, when your father is dead and rotten, you may see what counsell I would give you if I were alyve. If you follow these admonitions, there is no doubt but God will bless you, and I your earthly father do give you God's blessing and myne, with my humble prayers to Almighty God, that it will please him to bless you and your good Nanne, that you may both, if it be his will, see your chil-

* All the names mentioned here, are those of persons concerned in the plot, whose evidence may be seen in Murdin.

† "The Lord knoweth," says the Duke to the Queen, on the 23rd of January, "that I myself know no more than I have been charged withall, nor much of that, although, I humbly beseche God and your Majesty to forgive me, I knewe a greate deale too muche. But if it had pleased your highnes, that whylst I was a man in lawe, to have commanded my accusers to have been brought to my face, although of my own knowledge I knew no more then as I have particularly confessed, yet if it had pleased your Majesty, there might perchance have bolted out somewhat amongst them, which might have made somewhat for myn own purgation, and your highnes perchance have thereby known that which now is undiscovered. For certayn it is, that these practyses of rebellions and invasions, were not brutes without some full intention. God, of his mercifull goodnesse, I hope, will disclose all things that may be dangerous to your excellent Majesty : and then I hope your highnes shall perceave that Norfolk was not such a traytor, as he hath, not without his own desertes, given great occasion of suspycion." He goes on to point out these accusers, and the deepest intriguers in the plot, as "the one a shamelesse Scote, (the bishop of Ross,) and the other an Italianified Englishman."—*Murdin*, p. 170.

drens' children to the comfort of you both, and afterwards you may be partakers of the heavenly kingdome. Amen, Amen.

Tom,* out of this that I have written to your brother, you may learne such lessons as are fitt for you, and therefore I will not repeat them againe; that I write to one I write to all, except it be particular notes which particularly touche any one of you. To feare and serve God is generally to you all, and of my blessing take greatest care thereof, for it is the foundation of all goodness. You have even from your infancy been given to be stubborne, beware of that vice, Tom, and bridle nature with wisdom, for all ills commonly dependes of that vice. Though you be her Majesty's warde, yet if you use yourselfe well to my Lord Burghley, he will, I hope, get you to buy your owne wardshipp, and then I should have lyking to my daughter-in-lawe, Mary Dacres; I hope you shall have it in your owne choice. I will not advise you otherwayes then yourselfe when you are of fitt yeares shall thinke good, but this assure yourselfe it will be good augmentation to your small living, considering how chargeable the world groweth to be. Followe your elder brother's advice, who, I hope, will take such a course as may be to all your comforts. God send him grace so to do, and you too. If you followe these my advices, then I give you God's blessing and myne, and I hope the Lord will prosper you.

Well-beloved Nanne, † that hath been as deare to me as if you had been myne owne daughter, although considering this ill happe that is now chanced, you might have had a greater marriage then now your husband shall be; yet I hope you will remember that when you were marryed the case was

* Thomas was the Duke's eldest son by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Thomas Lord Audley of Walden, and inherited this title as Lord Howard of Walden by his mother's right: he was afterwards created Earl of Suffolk.

† Anne, sister and coheir of Thomas Lord Dacre, of Gillesland, married to Philip, the Duke's eldest son.

farr otherwayes, and therefore I hope your dutifull dealings shall be so to your husband and your sisterly love to your brothers-in-lawe and sisters-in-lawe, as my friends that shall see it, may thinke that my great affection to you was well bestowed. Thankes be to God, you have hitherto taken a good course, whereby all that wishes you well take great hope rather of your going forwardes therein then backwardes, which God forbidd. I will request no more at your handes, now that I am gone, in recompense of my former love to you, but that you will observe my three lessons, to feare and serve God, flying idleness, to love faithfully your husband, and to be kinde to your brothers and sisters, specially committing to your care myne own onely daughter Megge,* hoping that you will not be a sister-in-lawe to her, but rather a naturall sister, yea, even a very mother, and that as I tooke care for the well-bestowing of you, so you will, when her yeares shall be fitt for marriage, take care for the well-bestowing of her, and be a continuall caller on to your husband for the same. If this mishappe had not chanced, you and your husband might have been awhile still younge, and I would, by God's helpe, have supplied your wantes. But now the case is changed, for you must to your years of fifteen attayne to the consideration and discretion of twenty, or else if God send you to lyve, in your age you shall have causes to repent your folly in youth, besides the indangering and casting awaye of them that do wholly depend upon your two well doings. I do not mistrust, but that you will be mindfull of my last naturall requests, and so doing, God bless you, and the issue that I hope will springe of your two bodyes, and send you to be old parents to vertuous children, which is likeliest to be if yourselves give them good example. Farewell, for this is the last that ever you shal receive from your loving father. Farewell, my deare Nanne.

Megge, I have, as you may see, committed you to your

* The Duke of Norfolk had two daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth, of which perhaps the latter died young.

loving sister, I charge you, therefore, upon my blessinge, that you obey in all thinges, as you would do me, or your owne mother, if she were living, and then I doubt not but by her good meanes you shall be in fitt tyme bestowed to your owne comfort and contentation. Be chaste, no babler, and ever be busyed in doing somewhat, and give your mynde to reading in the Bible and such other good bookes, whereby you may learne to feare God, and so you shall prove, by God's helpe, hereafter, the better wife, and a good and virtuous woman in all other respects. If you followe these my lessons, then God's blessing and myne I give you, and pray to God that you may both lyve and dye his servant. Amen.

Will,* though you be now younge, yet I hope if it shall please God to send you life, that you will then consider of the precepts here before written to your brethren, which I give as well to you as to them. Be obedyent to your elder brothers. I have committed the charge of your bringing up to your elder brother, and therefore I charge you to be as obedyent to him as you would ha' been to me, if I had been lyving. I do assure myself that his dealing to you will be like a brother of the whole bloud, and not halfe bloud. If you followe these my precepts, then God shall bless you, if otherwise, thinke not that God scourgeth lightly children that be disobedyent to theyr father's godly lessons. As you are the youngest, so the more you ought to be obedyent to your elders. God send you good younger brother's fortune in this world, and his grace, that you may ever be his, both in this world and the world to come. Amen.

I may not forgett my two pretty daughters-in-law, Mall† and little Bess.† I pray God send all things so prosperous,

* William, second son of the Duke by his second wife, and ancestor of the present Earl of Carlisle.

† Mary, sister and coheiress of Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, married to Thomas Howard.

‡ Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, and sister and coheiress of George, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, married to William Howard.

as, if it be his will, you may be double daughters-in-lawe, as well by your owne marryages as you were before by my marrying of your good and vertuous mother. These lessons that I have given to your sisters without repetition I give unto you. Though I were not your naturall father, yet my deserts have been deserved so well at your handes, as few of myne owne I have done so much for, you and those that shall come of you shall fare the better for my cost and travell. I hope you will be mindfull hereof when your years and occasion shall desire prooffe. God send you both, my loving daughter-in-lawes, as well to do, as I wish to those that are come of myne owne bodye. Now to bidd you all farewell together, I desire you for Christ his sake to be mindfull of my short lessons, which are proceeded from as naturall father and father-in-lawe as ever children had, and in so doing God will bless you, and I send you my blessing, which I pray God may prove to you, my sonnes, as well as Isaacke did to Jacob; and to you, my daughters, as well as . . . did to Rebecca. Amen.

And now, deare and loving children, farewell. God I hope will be your comfort and guide, and I hope ere it be longe to be ridd out of this wretched world, to follow my deare wives and your mother in the heavenly joyes, whither pray God send me, and you afterwards, when it shall be his will and pleasure to take you out of this vale of misery. Amen. Once againe, lastly, and for ever, I charge you all to remember my honest requests, in following whereof in the end yourselves shall reape the commoditye.

The 20 of January, 1571. God be all your comfort, Amen, and send me to dye his servant.

Tom, I had forgotten to request one thing at your handes, which I hope you will hereafter, when tyme cometh, performe. It is this: I promised Bowles a lease of a farme of yours, in your landes called St. Taylots, which, if I had lyved, I would have performed, and now I hope you will, if God send you to come to years, performe as much as I meant

to have done. He hath been as honest and true a servant to your father as any that he hath had, and therefore I hope at this my request, he shall have the lease at your hand. God bless you and keep you in his feare ! Amen.

Written by the hande of your loving father and father-in-lawe, now being ready and willing to parte out of this world, I hope into the life everlasting.

T. N.

SIR JAMES MELVIL* TO RANDOLPH.

As ermytes were wont to retire them in solitary places, even so am I drawen to a quiet manner of lyving, content with the portion which God has given me, wha has also movit the harts of my Lord Regent and the nobilitie to be protectors of my quietnes, quhilk is such that I neyther am curious of newes nor desirous of negotiations. •

I covet till understand of your weifare since you war married, and how Maister Killegrewe and Maister Walsingham does, and how Master Dru Drewrie does, and how the Marshall† is in prosperitie. Wer not that ye are but laitely married, I wold pitie your caire, that can get no rest, bot is still occupied with combersome occupations, whereby it apperis that sic as procured for you that voyage war your frends, and geve¹ ye procured it yourself, ye ware your own frend.

I have conceaved a firm opinion that ye wold have shifted till fayr weather, were not that ye are utterly myndit till peacefy our troubled estait, whereby ye may wye away the wicked opinion of the vulgarre that beleve the contrary, and

* Sir James Melvil, the author of the memoirs. It is he who, in his memoirs, first lays to the charge of Randolph the fomenting, by his private intrigues, the troubles of Scotland.

† Sir William Drury, Marshall of Berwick.

¹ If.

now and then will speake theyr pleasure. Whatsoever he be that parturbes my quiet lyfe and estait with any business, will get of me lyke thankes as Alexander had of Diogenes, when he stode betweene him and the sunne.

Therefore I pray you favour my quietnes, and find no fault that I presse not till come where you are, for my affection toward you of old is so untired, that it must be yet a grete storme and a more vehement blast, afore it can be blowen out and away, howbeit I have yet matter and store of lyking in keping for convenient time. Thus, with my harty commendation, I take my leif, praying the Eternall till send a good succor to your affaires concerning concord.

Wreten at Mordow, having this 14th day of Marche.

Your crabit auld constant affectioned frend,

JAMES MELVILLE.

RANDOLPH, &c. TO LORD SCROPE.*

After our verie hartie recommendations unto your Lordship, we have receaved your Lordship's letter by this bearer, your servant, and perceive therby howe desyrus the Lord Herres is to have hymself and frends forborne in the tyme of this treatie of peace, to which purpose he was also in hande with us at his being here. No other answer can be given unto hym in our opinions then that which your Lordship hathe given, that if he sheweth hymself obedient to the Kyng and the authoritie nowe standing, he shall receive all the favour bothe towards hymself and frends that lawefully maye

* This letter is without signature, but was probably written by Randolph, who was now again in Scotland. Elizabeth had sent commissioners to endeavour to bring about an arrangement between the two contending parties, but her intentions were frustated by the obstinacy of those in the castle, who refused to acknowledge on any conditions the authority of the king and regent.

be shewed. Wherin also your Lordship's advise unto hym is verie good, that the sooner he do it the better.

His determination and promise to the Regent is to be here with his chief frends upon Fridaye in the Easter weeke, and then withoute farther respecte unto their doings in the castle,* to submit hymself unto the authorite. If he do thys, as we truste he wyll, what other reasonable requeste be made by hym, either for hymself or frends, we thynke it shall not be denyed hym by the Regent, and as we do fynd his good intent and meaning herin, so shall he have that furtherance that we can shewe hym.

Touching the matters we came for, we stande yet in verie uncertayne termes. The castle-men yelde nothing of their wyll, utterly myslyking this kynd of government. The Regent and his partie are reasonable enoughe to yelde unto any thinge that maye procure peace. La Croke is looked for here verie shortelie. If he come with the lyke commission and mynde that we be of, we truste to put it to a shorte poynte.

The 25th of this instant, the moste partie of the noblemen that professe the King's obedience and divers other that this longe tyme have taken neither parte, mynde to be in this towne, intending all to do what may be done to bring this countrie to quietnes, which is the beste hope and likelihood we have of any good to be, either nowe or never.

The Regent is nowe at Sterlinge. The Earle of Morton hathe here the chief charge, and is daylie kepte occupied by those of the castle.

Oute of Englande we have not hearde very mucche of late. By advertisement given from hence by us the shippe that the Lord Seton came in to Harwich, was stayed there. A box of the Lord Seton's found with letters, by the which a practice is discovered of some men's intent here to have found the meanes to have had the Kinge conveyde owte of this countrie,

* The castle was still held by the party opposed to the government, headed by Grange and Lethington, and was besieged by Morton.

into Spayne or Flanders. There wer also founde letters to some other in Scotlande, that had agreed for a some of money to have the Earle of Northumberland sett at liberty, and to have gone into Flanders.* Bothe which matters being discovered, we dowte not some order wyll be shortely taken bothe for this King's better suretie, and for the Earl of Northumberland's deliverie owte of the place where he is, some other wayes.

Having nothing els to trouble your Lordship with, but the remembrance of our duties to yourself and your good Ladye, we hartely take our leave.

Upon your Lordship's man's arrivall we were over the water, and since our returne here have beene much occupied, so that ther is no faulte in your Lordship's servante for his longe abode here.

(March 19, 1571.)

RANDOLPH TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

Knowing of this bearer, Roger Pilsson, my olde servant's repaire towards your Lordship, I wolde not leave my duetie undone by my letters, with desyre to be excuse that I sawe not your Lordship at my passing by you, the waye and weather being so evil and myself not well at ease, mynding

* "Whereas," says the Queen in her letter to Randolph of the same date as the present, (MS. Lansdowne, No. 13, Art. 54,) "the Lord Seton is come thither through our realme, though he escaped, unfortunately for himself, with a rebel, one of the Countess of Northumberland's men, yet the shippe that brought him and some of his servants was taken, and such secret writings of his, and of our rebels, as were left in the shippe to have been conveide after him by sea into Scotlande, are brought to such a lighte, as we have cause to thank God, to have such dangerous practises against us discovered. And theruppon we have stayed La Crocque for coming thither at this tyme, wishing that whilst he shall here staye you will make some speede there, for we cannot, as we think, convenyently staye him long here."

God wylling, to see your Lordship on my return, whereof I am as yet uncertayne, as we are to what end those matters will take which we have in hande.

After the 25th of this instant, when the whole assemblie of the frends of either partie wil be, we shal be able to give some readie gesse what may become of it, or at the least we mynde not after that daye to make longe abode here.

Those of the castell attende La Crocke, a Frenchman's, coming, thynking to fynde more comforte and assurance at his handes than we can give them, except theie will acknowledge their obedience to the King and Regent, which hytherto theie refuse to do, and we withowte that can do nothing for them. Of their particular doings, and in what sorte eache other deale with other, this bearer can shewe your Lordship.

Oute of London we feare yet no other but that he* remayneth yet alive, that is to be wished long synce he had bene dispatched.

I feare that the Bishop of Lincoln's words in his sermone before her Majestie will prove true, alleged out of Augustine, that there was *misericordia puniens, crudelitas parcens*, in consyderation whereof, great evil dyd insue. God have your Lordship in his keeping.

At Lyethe, the 21st of Marche.

WILLIAM SMITH TO HIS BROTHER JAMES WODCOKE.†

Anno Domini, 1572, the 15th of May, in Joraslave.

Brother James, with hart unfayned I send you most harty

* The Duke of Norfolk. The Queen's reluctance to order his execution is well known.

† The reign of Elizabeth was one of commercial adventure, and then first were the energies of our countrymen turned to long voyages.

commendations, trusting in God that you are in good healthe, with all the rest of your good friends and myne, as I was at the making hereof, desiring the continuance of the same unto the pleasure of God and to your owne hart's desires, &c. Your's from Ratlypfe, being of the 20th of Aprill, in a shipe, I have received very well, understanding the contents thereof,

and foreign trade. Through the whole of her reign, was preserved the intimate connexion between England and Russia, then known by the name of Muscovy, which had been begun under that savage tyrant the Czar Ivan Basilovitch. The Moscovy company was established so early as 1567. The jealousies caused by the monopoly of the company, and the envy of other nations, brought them under the displeasure of the Czar, and Randolph was sent over to 'heal the sores' which these jealousies had occasioned. "At his intercession," as Camden tells us, "the Emperor, in his singular good-will to the Queene and the English nation, granted to the English company in Russia freedome from all payment of custome, and liberty to carry and vend their merchandises wheresoever they would, throughout all the countries of his most spacious empire, and to transport them into Persia and Media by the Caspian sea, (whereas the merchants of other nations might not go a mile beyond the city of Moskow,) and gave them houses to twist their ropes and cables in for shipping, and a little country five miles in circuit, with woods to make iron, and tooke the English into an *opprisney*, that is, into a *choice seede of his people*."

"And now the English began more confidently to survey those countries, carrying their merchandises up the river Dwina in boates made of one whole pieces of tree, which they rowed and towed up the streame with halsers as farre as Wologda, and from thence by land, seven dayes' journey to *Yeraslaw*, and then by the Wolga, (which is about a mile over, and runneth through a clayish soyl, beset with oakes and birchen trees, thirty dayes and as many nights' journey downe the river to Astracana. And from Astracana (where they built ships) they did by a very great and memorable adventure, many times crosse the Caspian sea, which is very full of flats and shelves, and pierced through the vast deserts of Hircania and Bactriana to Teuerin and Casbin, cities of Persia, in hopes at length to discover Cathay. But the warres which shortly after grewe hot betwene the Turkes and Persians, and the robberies of the barbarians, interrupted this laudable enterprise of the Londoners. The Emperor sent back Randolph with presents, and with him Andreas Gregoriwitz Saviena, with a goodly shewe after the manner of that nation, who was gal-

being very sorry for the decease of your father, whose soul I beseech the living God to take unto his mercy. Amen. I pray you have me commended unto your bed-fellow, as one unbeknown unto me as yet, but I trust tyme wil be when I shall better know what she is. Also I praye you forget not my commendations unto your brother Mathew, and to your sisters, with all the rest of our frends in Kent, as Bess Jylls, and your Aunt Avery's sons and daughters, whose healths I desire as myne owne. You also write me that my cosen Yeastus and his wyfe were in good healthe, with myn Aunt Smythe and my cosen Gillian Smythe, and all the rest of my frends, saving them that are dead. Of the healths of my frends before written, I greatly rejoyce, praying for the continuance thereof. But as for those that are dead, I can do no lesse but thank God for it, trusting he hathe received them unto his mercy; but you write me so suspiciously, that I cannot tell howe to take it, neither can I judge who they are that are dead, but that I leve untill another tyme. You prayed the Gods that I might be alyve to reade your letter, and you should be somewhat the better: the lyke I praye for you, not only to reade this my letter, but to send us both a merry meeting, and then we may be the better.

This countrey of Unsland is greatly changed since you were here, and things goeth not so convenient with English-

lantly entertained by the Londoners and honorably received by the Queene."

The English, however, held the favour of the capricious monarch by a very uncertain tenure. On the return of his ambassador, the English fell again into displeasure, but he was soon after pacified by a kind letter from Queen Elizabeth. In MS. Cotton, Nero, B. xi. is preserved a copy of a letter written by Elizabeth from Hampton Court to the Czar, in May, 1570, promising to receive him hospitably in case his enemies should drive him from his dominions.

The name of Smith is so common that it would not perhaps be easy to ascertain who was the individual who wrote this letter, though the search would be facilitated by the numerous friends and kinsmen mentioned in it. A part at least of his family was Kentish.

men as it hath done. I aryved at Austrican the last sommer in June, and at our aryvall there was order come down from the Mosko to take custome of all Englishmen that shall come out of Perssia, and to seal up our goods, and to send us all up to the Musko, and not to suffer one of us to go over sea agayne, and Mr. Bannester and Mr. Duckett being yet in Perssia, giving in commission unto me to have returned agayne with our barks for them, but in no wise could not be suffered. Whereupon I am constraind now to make another voiage to fetch them home. The agent here, Mr. Procter, and I were at varyance about it. I would not a gone back agayn in no wise, but to have commen home, but there was suche matters layd to my charge, that if I went not the company's stock were lyke all to be loste, and so threatened that if I wold not go it were good for me never to come in England before the face of the company. If it were now as it hath ben hertofore, I would sett little by the voiage, but it is now wonderfull dangerous, and in a manner ten to one but we shall be taken or slayn, by reason of the great wars which are now betwyne the Emperor and the Tartars and Cryms, and also the Cresymissis, which are now rebellious against the Emperor. But yet there is a God that dothe aid and keep all those that put their trust in him, which is my only refuge, who I trust will defend me in all tyme of necessitie. Since your departure from thence, the mark is burnt, where I had as much ware as came to sixty robbulls,¹ burnt every pack, and now lykewise I am constraind to leve all my goods behind me by reason of naughty markets here. Silk that was used to be sold for a robull and a half an ounce is not now worth one robull. If it had not ben for a friend that doth give me credit for a three score robbulls, I had caryed with me litell now, yet I thank God I have an hundred robbulls venture with me at this present into Persia, and leave enoughe behind me to pay all men, and somewhat spare.

You were happy that ye came not with Mr. Bannester into

1 Roubles.

Perssia. If you had you should a felt some of these troubles that I do. You were happy you were so soon departed out of the company's service. A man may sone come into it, but he cannot get so sone out agayne. I am hired but from year to year, and to give me one year's warning, but I have given warning for five year agone and yet cannot get away. I could have had fifty robulls a year, and meat and drink, to have served the Emperor, and I had thought to have taken it to have been rid of this voiage, and had made playne answer unto the agent that I would not go, and then I was in a worse perplexity then before, doubting if I had entered into his service that I should not get owte again when I would, for I had rather die then forsake my country. Sibbe, Mr. Vydam's servant, serves the Emperor, and is apoynted as granne capitayn, under a Russe gentleman, of the gally at the Narve, and Robin Trimbote, master gunner; Will, Mr. Band's boye, was apoynted both master and capitayn, but he dyed of the plague the last sommer. There is as good as a sixteen Englishe maryners at the Narve, which dothe serve, and hathe good entertaynment: he that is worst hathe thirty robulls a year, and fifteen d. a daye besides, to find him meat and drink, and a house they have every man at the Emperor's charges, so the maryners bereth all the sway there now. And Cattelling, he is chief and judge over all, joyned with a Russ Boyaren, who is appointed as Ammerall. Cat-teling hathe a hundred robles a year, and twenty d. a daye: he hathe made a great gally, and a brikondin already, which goeth out this sommer.

Of these matters I leve, and begin with some others: as first, I will desire you to do my commendations to a fellowe and companion of yours and myne, whose name is Robard Croke, who I think by this tyme hath gotten him a chamber-fellow. I heare saye he gave assaute unto Shea with the red hede and upon the wall, and afterwards unto Annes Yvye, but I know not as yet whether he dyd wine the swort or no. I wold be very glad to hear howe he dothe. I have

written commendations unto hym every tyme, but I can hear none from hym. I think a will not be acquainted with suche poor knaves as I am. I praye you shew hym this, and bid him leave his daunsing and vantting, and remember now and then to write to his old friends, which are dispersed abroad in strange countreys. Also I pray you do my commendations unto Robart Wilson, and his wyfe, with healthe premysed, and tell hym I have heard somewhat that should be reported unto him of me by Thomas Sowtham, which I think dothe make him somewhat offended with me, and not without a cause, if it should be trewe, but tell hym from me it was a stark lye. I never reported no such thinge, for I were a villayn if I should. I marvell he would never open it to me when he was here; I perceyve it was reported before he went first home, by your letters you sent me when he reported unto you I playde skant the honest man with hym. Therefore byd hym not have no doubt in that, for it is as false as God is trewe. Muche you writ me in another of your letters, that I playde the gentleman with you in your cabin in writing in a mayd's boke, which I thank you ye forgave me my fact. Also I had the letters from you as concerning your good succes into Levent, being very glad to hear of your forwardnes and good fortune; also I had letters by Mychael Stint . . ., whearin you writtme you had written many letters and could never have answer of them. In good faythe, I have had dyvers, giving you most harty thanks for your gentill remembrance in remembering me, and also I have not ben unmindfull of you when tyme served in writing unto you, but God knoweth whether my letters came to your hands or not. I pray you do my commendations to my brother, Thomas Smythe, and say he is a very honest young man in taking such payns in wryting unto me. I mean to make him some part of amends, when that God sendeth me home. I had never but one letter from him since my coming hither. Others I have not to wryte at this present, but praying God

to keepe you in healthe, and send us a merry meeting, when it shall please hym.

Your's to his power at all tymes,

WILLIAM SMITHE.

I pray you let me hear from time to time from you, as you shall do the like from me as time shall serve.

Brate Yakobe possaldie pregottoui pro mina Jonnisko got-tory Crosshinko ye mollodinko. protiuo ya preyeado doma I possalli Chollombite ut misna barbara Wode ye velly onna ys doute mina golli te take. Dispiesse pro mina brate boudes dessinært.

Pro brat weyo,

WILLIAM SMITHE.*

THE ADMIRAL COLIGNY† TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Monsieur, il y a quelque temps que ja'y reçu la lettre que vous avez escripte du 2^e du mois passé, qui m'a apporté le tant plus grand contentement que j'ay véu par icelle le desir

* This postscript was no doubt intended to astonish all his friends in Kent.

† TRANSLATION.—“ Sir, some time ago I received the letter which you wrote me the second of the last month, which gave me the greater contentation, as I saw by it the desire and affection which you have to the entertainment of that mutual friendship which exists between the two crowns, and to the advancement of the glory of God, having on my part very good will to employ myself to both these objects, and being entirely of the same advise as your, sir, that as the supporters of Satan do all they can to hinder works so holy as these, we who have the honour and succour of God and of our princes recommended to us, let us be no less diligent to procure and advance them than the others are to delay and diminish them. In which I will on my side assist and aid you with all my power, praying you to continue in this holy mind, and to send me by Dupin, my secretary, the bearer whom you know, your news, and believing what he will tell you equally as though it had been myself, who after recommending myself hum-

et affection que vous avez à l'entretienement de ceste mutuelle amytié qui est entre ces deux coronnes, et à l'avancement de la gloire de Dieu, ayant de ma part bien bonne volonté de m'employer à l'un et à l'autre, et estant bien de cest advise avecques vous, Monsieur, que comme les supposts de sathan font tout ce qu'ilz peuvent pour empescher des oeuvres si saints que ceulx-là, nous autres, qui avons l'honneur et le servise de Dieu et de nos princes en recommandacion, ne soyons pas moins diligent à les procurer et avancer que les autres sont à les retarder et à moindrir. En quoy je vous assisteray et ayderay de mon costé de tout ce qu'il me sera possible, vous priant de vous continuer en votre saint intention et me mander par Dupin mon secretaire le porteur que vous congnoisse de vos nouvelles, le croyant de celles qu'il vous dira de ma part, comme moy mesmes, qui, après me très humblement recommander à votre bonne grace, supplieray Dieu vous donner, Monsieur, en parfaict santé, heureuse et longue vie.

De Chastillon, ce 27^e jour de May, 1572.

Votre entierement bon et bien parfaict amy,

CHASTILLON.

WILLIAM HERLE TO LORD BURGHELEY.

I received yesternight, my right honourable good Lord, a letter from Flushing, directed thence on Friday last, which

bly to your good graces, will pray God to give you, Sir, in perfect health, a happy and long life. From Châtillon, the 27th day of May. Your entirely good and very perfect friend."

Gaspard de Coligni, Lord Admiral of France, born at Châtillon sur Loing in 1516, was now the head of the Huguenots, and was one of the bravest soldiers and greatest men of his time. He bore an exemplary character, but he was hated by the party of the Guises for the great influence he gave to the Protestants by his counsels as well as his sword. Scarce three months after the writing of this letter he was treacherously murdered in the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew.

* This William Herle seems to have been a person employed by

for that it is of a fresh date, I am bolde to imparte it with your Lordship. On Wensday there arived two hundred and fifty French soldiers, who being received by the town into garrison, the day following Sir Humphrey Gilbert with his company arrived there also.† But Tzarras, who takes upon him to be governor of the towne, wold not suffer him to enter, but shutting the gates agaynst him and his, made a playne declaration that no more Englishe soldiers should be admitted there, which did so move the myndes of the Englishmen, as they were ready to returne all to theyr contrey agayn, and hereuppon the townsmen not able to endure this un-worthines, which they have used by Tzarras and the Frenchmen, assembled together and arming themselves came to Tzarras, expressing with great heate and vehemence, that they would be governed by the Englishmen, who were their ancient frends and nere neighbours, they sayd, and with their

Burghley as a gatherer of intelligence, and sometimes as a spy. He seems to be the same man who introduced himself this year into the society of Mather and Berneye, in order to betray their plot against Burghley's life. We shall afterwards frequently find him send letters of intelligence to the Treasurer.

* "Now, after a very gallant shewe of armes and skirmishing before the Queene at Greenewiche, martiall men, which spent their time at home in idleness, began to flock into the Low Countries out of England, some (according as they stood affected to the parties) to the Duke of Alva, and some (which were indeed the far greater number) to the Prince of Orange, who, in respect of religion and freedome, opposed himself against Alva. The first of all that went was Thomas Morgan, who caried over three hundred men to Vlissing; the report of whose coming is thought to have stayed the Duke of Alva, when he was in readines to recover Vlissing. Afterwards, through the procurement of Morgan, arrived there nine companies of English under Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who, with the French their associates, first attempted Sluise and Bruges, and then gave an assault to Ter-goes in Suith-Bevelandt. But for that their ladders were too short, and that the French and English agreed not well together, and that Mon-dragon came to the relief of the besieged, they retired to Vlissing."—*Camden*.

blood had most valiantly defended them and their towne, and had preserved the lives of them all, objecting to hym that he had brought in thither Frenchmen, who neither had discipline nor religion, but such as did devour and spoyle them of all that they had, and in effect were no better than pillars and thieves, and might with the lyke mynde, in growing stronger, oppresse bothe them and their liberty, threatening with very injurious words to breake open the gates, and whether he wold or not to lett in the English. Which contention continued a six houres, and at the laste the matter was pacified, and Sir H. Gilbert with his company received into the towne, with such a generall affection of the townesmen, as bothe teares were shedde, and their own beddes presented to . . . the Englishmen, though they should lie on the ground themselves, also the Frenche fayne to give place unto them, so as the whole truste and government is now in our nation. They meant to send a number of men into that island, called Beveland, to cutt of the vittayles that they of Tergus did send dayly to those of Myddelburgh. The intelligence is there that the most parte of the soldyers of Myddelburgh are returned, being called to Bruxelles, and that there is no garrison left at that littell pile called Sowbrugh, a mile and a half from Flushing, where the skirmish began on Mydsommer even.

The Frenche merchants have bought up all the pepper at ten stivers a pound, which they saye is to paye a great dett that Count Lodovick doth owe, and for the rest of the spicery it is at suche high prices, as small good or none is to be done therewith, which, my good Lord, is th'effect of the letter that I have received, as also there is a Dutchman come over who can perchance declare many things to your Lordship.

Lastly, pardon me, my right honorable Lord, if I, as a poore and humble well-willer of your Lordship's, do rejoyce of that good hap that her Majesty and the whole realm hath, the advancing you to the Tresorership of England,* wherin the place receives more honor and profitt by you, than it can

* Lord Burghley was made treasurer this year, (July 13,) on the death of the Marquis of Winchester.

give you againe, whom God increase, I desire it humbly and vehemently uppon my knees, in all virtue and greatnes, as your worthines deserves, wherewith, with all humilitie, I finishe.

From my lodging, this Monday morning, 14th July, 1572.

Your Lordship's porest bedeman,

WM. HERLLE.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO LORD BURGHELEY.*

Touching the particularities of Janli's overthrowe I refer your Lordship to suche incertainties as I have set downe in the inclosed occurrents. Suche of the religion here, as before did sleepe in securitie, begin now to awake and to see their danger, and do therefore conclude that unlesse this enterprise in the Low Countrey have good succes, their case groweth desperate. They have therefore of late sent unto the King (who is absent from hence) to shewe hym, that if the Prince of Orange quayle, it shall not lye in him to mayntayne them in his protection by vertue of his edict. They desyre hym, therefore, out of hand to resolve upon something that maye be for his assistance, offering themselves to employe therein their lyves, lands, and goods. They see, by the assistance given on the other syde, as by the Pope, Florence, Triers, Baviere, and Cullen, who proceade roundly and resolutely in the matter, and are not otherwise interested in the Low Countreyes, or in the cause, but in respect of religion, that unless her Majestie and the Princes of Germanie in lyke sort joyne with this crowne, in this cause, there is great doubt what will be the event of the enterprise.

The Duke [10]† hath therefore requested me to desyre your Lordship, as you tender God's glorie, and her Majestie's safetie,

* This letter is not printed in Digges. It shows that shortly before the day of St. Bartholomew, the Protestants in France were full of fears and suspicions.

† A cypher.

to see if you can induce her (upon overture first to be made by the King in this behalf) to joyne with hym in yielding assistance. He thinketh to bring him to make the overture, so that they might be in some assurance that her Majestie would give eare therto.

They have also dispatched one of late to suche of the Princes of Germanye, as favour the cause, to provoke them to proceede more resolutely and roundly in this matter, laying before them the evydent dangers that otherwaies wyll ensue.

By one lately come from thence, they understand, that the sayd Princes begin to see the danger, and are well bent to do anything that may tend to remedy. The partye above wrytten desyreth with some speed to knowe, how her Majestie will enclyne to the said overture: for that therafter they are to direct their affaires.

As I was wryting, I receyved a copie of a letter sent from Montz; which I send unto your Lordship here inclosed; by the which you maye bothe perceave the state of the towne, and also how many are retyred thither of Janli's companye.

And so leaving farther to trouble your Lordship at this present, beseeching God to blesse you in your late honorable calling,* with as good success as ever any that occupied that place, I most humbly take my leave. From Paris, the 25th of Juliet, 1572.

Your Honor's to command,

FRA. WALSHINGHAM.

GEORGE BUCHANAN† TO MR. RANDOLPH.

I resavit twa pair of letters of you sense my laste wryting to you. With the first I resavit Marinus Scotus, of quhilk I

* Of Lord Treasurer.

† This elegant letter is characteristic of the terse wit of King James' school-master, and the most famous of modern Latin poets.

Sir James Melvil describes Buchanan as "a man of notable en-

thank you greatly, and specially that your Inglisemen are found liars in their chronicles alledging on hym sic thyngs as he never said. I haif been vexed with sicknes all the tyme sense, and geif I had decessit,¹ you shuld haif² loset both the letters and recompense; now I must never thank you, but geif³ we are broken up of this folly laitely done on the border, for than I wyl hald the recompense as Inglis geir, bot geif peace followes, and nother ye do speak of mariage, or of the twa symptomes following on mariage, quhilk are jealousye and cuccaldry, and the gut⁴ carry not me away, I must find other⁵ sum way to pay or lese kyndenes, or else, geifing⁶ up kyndenes, pay you with evil wordes, and geif this fassion of dealing pleasit me, I haif reddy occasion to be angry with you, that haif wissit⁷ me to be ane kentys man, quhilk in a manner is ane certaine half man, half beast, and yet for ane certaine consideration I wyl pass over that injury, imputing it more to your new folly than to ald wysdome. For geif ye had bene in your right wit, ye being anis escapit the tempestuous stormes and naufrage of marriage, had never entered againe in the same dangers. For I cannot tak you for ane stoik philosopher, having ane head inexpugnable with the frenetyk tormentis of jealousy, or ane cairless hart skeptick, that taks cuccaldrys as thyng indifferent. In thys caise I must nedis prefer the rude Scottis wyt of capitane Cocburne, to your In-

dowments for his learning and knowledge in Latin poesie, much honoured in other countries, pleasant in conversation, rehearsing at all occasions moralities short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing where he wanted. He was also religious, but was easily abused, and so facile, that he was led by every company that he haunted, which made him factious in his old days, for he spoke and wrote as those who were about him informed him, and he was become careless, following in many things the vulgar opinion; for he was naturally popular, and extremely revengeful against any man who had offended him, which was his greatest fault."

George Buchanan was born in 1506, and died in 158

¹ Died.

² Have.

³ If.

⁴ Gout.

⁵ Either.

⁶ Giving.

⁷ Wished.

glis solomonical sapience, quhilk, wery of ane wyfis, deliverit hir to the Queyne agayne, bot you, deliverit of ane wyfe, castis yourself in the same netts, *et ferre potes dominam salvis tot vestibus ullam*, and so Capitane Cocburne is in better case than you, for his siknes is in the feitte¹ and yours in the heid.² I pray you geif I be out of purpose, thynk not that I suld be maryitt, bot rather consider your awyn dangerous estait, of the quhilk the speking has thus troublit my braine, and put me so far out of the way.

As to my occupation at this present tyme, I am busy with our story of Scotland,* to purge it of some Inglis lyes and Scottis vanitie. As to maister Knox, his historie† is in hys freindes' handes and thai ar in consultation to mitigat sum part the acerbite of certain wordis, and sum taints wherein he has followit too muche some of your Inglis writaris, as M. Hal. *et suppilatorem ejus* Graftone, &c. As to Mr. Beza,‡ I fear that eild,³ quhilk has put me from verse making, salde deliver hym *a scabie poetica*, quhilk war ane great pity, for he is ane of the most singular poetes that has beene this lang tyme. As to your great prasyng given to me in your letter, geif ye scorne not, I thank you of luif⁴ and kyndenes toward me, but I am sorrie of your corrupt judgment.

Here I wold say mony injuries to you, war not that my gut commandis me to cesse, and I wyll also spair mater to my next wryting. Fair weal, and God keip you. At Sterling, the sext of August.

By yours at al my power,

G. BUCHANAN.

* Buchanan's History of Scotland, in Latin, was printed first at Edinburgh, in 1582, the year of his death.

† John Knox died this present year. His History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland was first printed at London, in 1584.

‡ Theodore Beza was born 1519, and died a very old man in 1606.

Feet.

² Head.

Old age.

⁴ Love.

LETHINGTON TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.*

It is very long sen I writ to your Majestie, not for lack of duty or diligence, but for lack of moyen to convey our letters. We have socht all meanes possible, but could fynd nane sure. We have hasarded with this bearer these few, with quham we dare not write amply for fear of intercepting, and I knaw not if this chifre¹ be sure. Gif your Majestie receive this safely, and fynde the moyen sure, write back, and your commandment shall be obeyed. God knawis in what straite we your servants hes ben this twelfmonth past, and yet are. We send Mr. James Kirkaldy to France long before Yule, for ayde outhur of men or money. He is yet still there, and can get no despeche. We have found na frendship of France, and it apearis by Monsieur du Croc his doings in this countrey and his familiar dealing with the Regent, and his faction, that France favors their action a greate deale better then ours. Always we get na ayde.

The force of Scotland hes byne about this towne continually all this yeir, and hes keipid us sa strait sen mid-lent reyn, that they suffrit not a peck of vittel to come to this castel sensyne. And whair pure² women hazardit on the night to bring in some on their backs for themselves and their pure bairnes, ay as they fell in the hands of their watches, they wer hangit without mercy. Be that way they have hangit a great nombre of women, and some of thame with barne, and parted with barne upon the gallowes, a cruaulty not heard of in any contry. Yet it hes funderit their cause, and put the peple in sik feare that nane durst issue or enter in this towne, and brought us to sik streit of vittel that the hail³ pepill as well inhabitants of the towne as subdarts, wer brocht to extreme hunger. By mediation of the ambassador of France

* An intercepted letter in cypher, dated Aug. 10, 1572, and endorsed as decyphered, Dec. 5.

¹ Cipher.

² Poor.

³ Whole.

and the Quene of England, there is an abstinence tane for twa monthes with disadvantageus conditions to us, for we behuffit¹ to mak the towne patent,² and yet it wes force to us to yeild therto for near ane moneth before ther was na vittell in the towne, but that that was given furth of the castel, quharby we put the castel in great danger, and for safety of the tane behuffit to quite the tother.³

We have referred all differences betwene our enemyes and us to the ambassador of France and the Quene of England, for to your and our enemyes we wil yeild nathing. We mon⁴ on force take sik apointment as they will prescribe, becaus we have na moyen to beare out the cause as we wald. We have na assister in this realme, nor hes had this twelfemonth, but onely the Erle of Huntley and ourselves, all other hes left us lang syne, or rather thay did us na good turne.

Your Majestie mon provide some way for safety of the castel of Edinbourgh, and furnishing therof, for it is the mark our adversars alwayes shotis at, and they will spare nathing outhir be nicht or slict⁵ to come be it, for they have experience qwharof it may serve, and that it is ay able to cast the ball, as indede it had put this mater lang syne out of play, gif France had played their part. We sall provyde for the safety of it as weil as we may, but it will be baith costly and combersome; and will require far mair expenses now qwhan our enemies hes the towne at their devotion, nor it did before. It will not be a small thing will serve that turne, and therefore your Majestie mon with diligence provyde a releif for it, and cause money be send to vitell it for a yeir at leist, and furnis it with all provision necessar, as als wa⁶ to mantaine the garrison necessary, for sa lang as the castel is preserved the cause will not perish. I refer the rest to your Majestie's discretion. God knowis what burdein we have borne, for the

¹ Behoveth.
to quit the other.

² Open.

⁴ Must.

³ For safety of the one it behaved

⁵ Might or slight.

⁶ Also.

furnishing of all the charges of this war hes onely lyne on our shoulders, qwherby we have beggerit ourselves and all the freinds we had credit of.

I wold wishe your Majestie, seing how slack a part France hes tane¹ with you, suld essay yet be all meanes gif ye may wonne the Quene of England, for I see not be quhat other meanes your releif can be wrocht, and it may be gif ye make hir good offers, she will now schaw you mair favour nor sche did quhan ye had ma freindis. Sa we maist humbly kiss your Majestie's handes. From Edinbourg Castel, the 10th of August. Send us word quhat ye wald have done, and your commandementis sall be obeyed.

SIR THOMAS GARGRAVE* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My bounden duty humbly remembered to your Honor, it may please the same to be advertised, that so farre as may

¹ Taken.

* The President of the Council at York. See p. 274.

The Earl of Northumberland was delivered by Morton for a sum of money to the English, who, since the discovery by the letters in Lord Seaton's ship, of the practises for his escape into Flanders, had been more eager to obtain possession of him. He was immediately conveyed to York, condemned of high treason, and executed there on the 22nd of August. A ballad on his delivery to the English is printed in Percy's Reliques.

In MS. Cotton. Calig. B. iv. p. 243, are preserved the following verses by a partisan of the Earl:

The copie of a ryme made by one Singleton, a Gentleman of Lancashire, now Prisoner at York for Religion.

A dolefull time of weping tears
 To woefull plaintes do best agree,
 But nowe suche time my song requires
 As never erst was wont to be.
 Such heavie hap of cruell spite
 More than my hand and pen can write.

appeare by any talk or doings of the late Earl of Northumberland, at or before his deathe, he contynued obstynate in religion, and declared he would die a Catholicke of the Pope's

I lothe to tell howe nowe of late
That cruell Scotland hath procurde
The slander of their realme and state
By promise broken most assurde :
Which shamefull act from mynde of man
Shall not departe, do what they can,

The noblest Lord of Percie kinde,
Of honour and possessions faire,
As God to him the place assigned,
To Scottishe grounde made his repaire ;
Who, after promise manifolde,
Was last betrayed for Englishe golde.

Who shall hereafter trust a Scott,
Or who will do that nation good,
That so themselves do stayne and blott
In selling of suche noble blood,
Let Lordes of this a mirror make, "
And in distresse that land forsake,

Their lordes and limmors are forlorne,
Their people cursd of each degree,
Their faith and promise all to-torne,
And rumor ring it to the skie,
How they for money sold their gest
Unto the shambles like a beast.

Loughleven now is lost for aye,
Sithe Duglasse did so fowle a dede ;
Thus will all men hereafter saye ;
When we are gone they shall it rede,
That Scotland is a cursed ground,
The like I know cannot be found.

The Pearcie's storke, an ancient foe
To Scottish lowndes in fieldes,
Yet did he still relieve their woe
If once the man did yelde
Unto his Prince and contrie's praise,
As noblemen have noble ways.

churche. He accompted his offences nothing, and especially after he heard he should die, but before he seemed to confesse he had offended, and would greve lyke it, saying, he dyd that he dyd by compulsion, and for fear of his lyfe.

He confessed he was reconcyled to the Pope: he affirmed the realme was in a schisme, and there all were sysmaticks, he said there was neither pity nor mercy. In his talk with dyvers, he named himselfe Simple Thome, and said, "Simple Thome must dye to set up cruel heresy." At his death he wished his brother to be of his religion,* and that if he had his lyvings he trusted he wold pay his detts, and helpe his children and servants.

He dyd not there either pray for the Quene's Majestie, nor even wysshed her well, nor yet wold confesse he had offended her Majestie, wherat many was offended, and thought he had no dutiful consyderation of her Majestie, and on the other syde the stiff-necked Papists rejoiced much of his stedfastness in their crede of popish religion.† I beseeche the Almighty to preserve the Quene's Majestie, and all good subjects from their deceitfull and cruell practises, the which, in my opinion, they intend, if tyme wold serve. They have too muchelyberte and scope, and wax hard-hearted, wylfull, and stoborn. The Lord resist their malyce, and defend his elect and all the good and christian people.

And thus beseeching your Honor to beare with my bold-

O cruel envie with thy stinge,
 O great desire of heapes of golde,
 Ye shulde before have weighed this thinge,
 The cause of mischief manifeilde;
 For envie makes men do amisse;
 Croked covetise did all this.

The Scottes have done the worst they maye,
 And now did frame some grief therefore,
 But whatsoever they thinke or saye . . .

* Sir Henry Percy.

† Saunders says, that the Earle "suffered martyrdom."

nes, I cease to trouble you, humbly beseeching the Almighty long to preserve your good Lordship in helth and honor. From Yorke, in hast, the 23rd of August, 1572.

Your Honor's ever humble to commande,

THOMAS GARGRAVE.

THOMAS COTTON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

It hath pleased your Honor lately to sende this bearer, Captaine Pyckman, unto Sir Humfre Gilbert here, to imparte your plesure, the which in some parte, (by reason of my place here,) I understande, and having of myself somewhat founde, and rather of the better sorte of inhabitants and rulers learned, thought I myght presume to deliver unto your Honor my simple opinions. It may please your Honor to receave them as my dewtifull and honest intent meaneth them, and also that my boldnes may be pardoned.

More then thirty yeares paste, Grandevele, father to this Cardinall, counseled the Emperor Charles the Fifth, th'only way to get to be the Monarche of Christendome was to take away all the privileges of the Low Contrye. His continuall occasions with France, Germany, and with the Turke, dyd so occupy him, as he could not have the time.

Kinge Philip succeeding, and not forgetting Grandevele's advise, hath followed it as appeareth by the sequell of his doings; firste, to put to dethe the noblemen and rulers of the contrye, and next, to bring in the Spanyshe inquisition, knowing that these thinges beinge againste their privileges, they wolde never suffer them, and in withstanding of them to be founde as rebeles and traitors, by reason whereof, the King to have the commodity to drive away a greate number of the inhabitants, and to confiscate ther goodes, as it appeareth. And to those that remaine, take away their privileges, which shal be another inquisition, as firste the hundreth peny, then the

thirtye, then the twentye, and lastely, the tenth, which tyrannously the Duke of Alva wolde have taken.

By this means, if they were not content, (as he well knew they wolde not,) then they to be banyshed, and their goodes confiscated, and so to bringe the whole contrye into the forme of a newe province, and in th'ende to make it as another Nova Spania. It may appeare so, when the Spanyardes wyll not stycke to tell them the Kinge hath given them unto them and their contrye. Of the other parte, if they suffer him to enjoy this imposition (as it semeth he shall without greate helpe) by due accompte of men of beste judgment, in Flanders, his yerely benefyt shal be seventene millions of golde. With this great revenue (accompanied with his conquering mynde) he shall have commoditie to make warres with her Majestie's realme of England, as the King of Spaine hath often times threatened. If Englande sholde takelack, France is next. This hath principally moved, as the wiser sort of men say here, her Majestie and the King of France to make that perfect league. I may not saye the Kinge of France hath sent those greate number of Frenche which are now at Mouns, with the Count Lodwick, and that there are great numbers looked for, neither yet the Frenche King to make warrs with Spaine, considering the league. The Kinge of Spaine hath required the King of France to call home his people, and that he suffer no more to go to the ayde of the Prince or court. I do heare of greate preparation in France, which dothe prognosticate (as here we say) warrs with the Duke of Alva.

All these thinges (if I may speak without offence) I think not unfit for her Majestie to consyder, to th'ende, if so her Hyghnes with your Honor thought good, some present meanes myght be used to helpe the poor Prince of Orenge, as the Frenche King doth, wherby now that may be gone through with, that her Majestie's realme may have great safty of so strong an enemy promised, or at the leaste the towne of Flosshinge, which importeth her Highnes much.

My reasons are,—the towne being had (which treason hath crossed) may be made strong, and the ilande being once wonne, a staple to be made there or at Middleborough, great occasion of the use of navigation. The commodity of our countries uttered, an importe to be put whereby great commodities to arise. Her Majestie, the only commander of the narrow seas; hereby no shipes can come out of Denmark or Swethelande. Her enemies hereby shal be the weaker. Spaine to have the greatest cause of navigation taken away, by reason of the trade in Flanders, where there is no haven for roade in winter; but only Soffery by this ilande of Celande.¹ I wold be loathe Spaine sholde range in tirrany there where her Majestie hath so good footing, and better sholde have had (or else we wolde have bought it deare) if one of us might have assured the other safety without suspect.

I do not lyke France in pollicie to have it, whom we have bene and now are jealous of here, the which if Englande foresee not, God grant necessity maketh them not to call them for their only patron. I heare it, wherfore the more I feare it. As for any particular persuasions herein, I am not able, more then that I know Sir Humfre Gilbert will wisely, and with great consideration, advise your Honor of. This only thing I most humbly beseech you to remember, not to omyt any one hour, in granting suche present commodity as may be thought necessary for the cause. The time is farr spent. Capitaine Pyckman is very well able to informe your Honor of our estate here. I most humbly crave pardon for this my boldenes, and withall take my leave, beseeching God to bring to pass those things your Honor moste desires.

From Flosshinge, the 23rd of Auguste, 1572.

Your Honor's most humble at commande,

THOMAS COTTON.

¹ Zealand.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

These evill tymes trouble all good men's heads, and make their heartes ake, fearing that this barbarous treacherie* will not cease in Fraunce, but will reache over unto us. Neither feare we the mangling of our body, but we sore dread the hurte of our heade, for therin consisteth our life and safetie. We shall dutifullie praie, give you good advise, and God, I trust, will delyver us out of the mouthe of the roaring lyon. The citizens of London in these dangerous daies had need prudentlie to be dealt withall; the preachers appoynted for the crosse† in this vacation are but yonge men, unskilfull in matters politicall, yet so carried with zeale, that they will enter into them and poure forthe their opinions. If the league standeth firme betwixte her Majestie and the Frenche King, (as I suppose it dothe,) they maye perhappes, being not directed, utter speache to the breache therof; howe that will be lyked of I dowte. If I may receave from your Lordship some direction or advise herin, I will not faile to directe them so well as I can. The Deane of Paules and I will first occupie the place, giving example howe others may followe.

Sundrie have requyred a publique faste and praier to be had, for the confounding of these and other cruel enemies of Godd's gospell, but this I will not consent unto, without warrant from her Majestie.

Thus am I bolde to unfolde a piece of my mynde on the sudden, and to make you partaker of my simple cogitations, knowing that according to your olde wonte, you will take the same in good parte. Hasten her Majestie homewards,‡

* The infamous massacre perpetrated on St. Bartholomew's day, the 24th of August, twelve days before the date of this letter.

† St. Paule's Cross, whence at this time the preachers addressed the multitude in the open air.

‡ She was now on a progress, in which she visited Havering Bower, the seat of the Earl of Oxford, Theobalds, Gorhambury, the seat of

her safe returne to London will comfort many hearts oppressed with feare. God preserve you, and directe you with his spirite to counsell to his glorie.

In haste, from my howse at Fulham, this 5th of September, 1572.

Your Lordship's humble at commandement,

ED. LONDON.*

Sir Nicholas Bacon, Dunstable, Woburn, the seat of the Earl of Bedford, Warwick, Kenilworth, Compton, Berkeley Castle, and Woodstock, at which latter place she is said to have received the intelligence of the massacre of Paris. From Woodstock she came by Reading to Windsor.

* With this letter the Bishop sent a paper with the following suggestions for the safety of the state, at this alarming crisis, remarkable for being the first direct proposition we know for the execution of Mary Queen of Scotts.

The safetie of our Queene and Realme, if God will.

1. Forthwith to cutte of the Scottishe Quene's heade: *ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas.*

2. To remove from our Quene papistes, and suche as by private persuasion overthrowe good counsell.

3. The Quene's Majestie to be garded stronglie with Protestants, and others to be removed.

4. Order must be taken for the safe keping of the Tower, and for good order to be had in London; for strengthening of the citie, and that they receive no Papists of strengthe to sojourne there this wynter.

5. A firme league to be made with the yonge Scottishe King, and the Protestants there.

6. A league to be made with the Princes Protestants of Germanie, offensive and defensive.

7. The chiefe Papistes of this realme are to be shutte uppe in the Tower, and the Popishe olde Bishoppes to be returned thither.

8. The gospell earnestlie to be promoted, and the church not burdened with unnecessarie ceremonies.

9. The Protestants, which onlie are faithfull subjectes, are to be comforted, preferred, and placed in authoritie. The papistes to be displaced.

These put in execution wolde turne to Godde's glory, the safetie of the Quene's Majestie, and make the realme florishe and stande.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Sir, I wrote to your Honor private letters in *amaritudine animæ et in insipientia mea*. I trust ye do not beare me any displeasure for them, and before Almighty God I speake it, no creature in earthe knoweth of this or for that my particular wryting to you. I have that persuasion that ye love her Highnes, and with this persuasion, whatsoever subtle respectes be in some others, the truth is, as wel for Almighty God's commandement, for that she is nowe my prynce, as for the last wordes that ever her Majestie's mother spake to me concerning her, being her poore countryman, I have as muche cause to wishe wel to her Majestie as any other whatsoever, so wil I be, whatsoever cometh of it. If I be in any error, I can be glad to be otherwise advertised to change my fearful opynion toward her, and, Sir, because I feare one other thing, I will open it to your Lordship, and do with it what ye think best. I am, I thinke, credibly informed, that the mayor of Dovyr brought up a strange body to be examined, of whom I heare that because your Lordship could have no leisur (as I am sure ye be carefely and thoroughly occupied) ye committed th'examination to Mr. Sommer and to this Mayor, and he hathe it in wryting, that this villain should utter most shamefull wordes agaynst her, viz., that th'Erle of Leicester and Mr. Hatton† should be suche toward her, as the matter is so horrible, that they wold not wryte down the wordes, but wold have uttered them in speeche to your Lordship if ye wold have been at leisur. Furthermore he should saye, that a brother of his in Calice should affirme that within this wynter

* See Strype's Life of Parker, for further instances of the deep impression which the news of the French massacre made on the mind of the Archbishop and others, who all joined in the desire of the Bishop of London that Mary should be put to death.

† Sir Christopher Hatton.

he trusted to heare of as many throtes cut here in England, as be reported to be in France, and he should saye, "what make ye of the persecutions of Queen Mary?" for within this twelvemoneth he dowted not but that Henrye's bones and maistres Elizabethes too should be openly burned in Smythfield: and furder I heare that this person is yet delivered, and sent home to London agayn, to the service of his frendes. Sir, if this be true, God be mercifull to us, I can saye no more, as Mardocheus, I heare and understand, which I praye God turne to her honor, but I can not do any less in conscience, but to unburden myself, and poure it into your bosom, and her Majestie willeth me to write all to you. God defend her Majestie, and all her trusty frendes.

JOHN WOGAN* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My duetie most humbly premised unto your good Lordship, whereas it is my duety, being sheriffe of this shire, to advertise her Majestie or some of her Highnes' most honorable counsaill of every thing or cause which dothe concerne her Majestie's commoditie by any manner of meanes, therefore these are to advertise your Honor, that I am credibly informed, and the reporte is notorious, that abowte Easter laste, Jevan Canton, Moryce Hurte, and Thomas Probert, of this county of Pembroke, have founde at an olde pair of walles at Spittell, in the said countie, a great quantitie of threasure, golde and silver, conteyned in a certayne worke of brasse, as is supposed, and that they had know-

* Sheriff of Pembrokeshire. This is not the only treasure story which will be given among these letters, as illustrative of the superstitions of the time. It must not be forgotten that the famous Dr. Dee petitioned to have the finding of all hidden treasures throughout the kingdome, by meanes of the art magicall.

ledge thereof, by the advertisement of one Syr Lewis,* a preste dwelling in Carmerthenshire, not farre from Kayo.

The presumption is greate, as may appeare by the varietie of their owne confessions, token before me, and by the circumstance of the deposition of others before me also examined, specially of two, the one of the age of eightene yeares, the other of sixtene yeres, named John Canton and Thomas Canton, bothe brethren to the forenamed Jevan Canton, one of the parties charged with the saide threasure trove.

And myself with others repaired to the place, and founde the walles broken with engynes, and a place within the centre of the wall, contayning one foote square, fytted for such a work, and the soille and ruste of the worke had made black the circumferens of the place. So that it is moste evident that suche a work they founde, which is thought to have continued there these two hundreth yeres. For further consideration wherof, I have sent unto your Honor the depositions of such as were examined before me; and am ready for my parte to execute your Lordship's farther commandement in this matter, or any other cause wherein I may do your Lordship any service. But I gather that the truth of this matter will never be bolted out, without that the prieste be examined, and the parties also menaced with some torture or extremitie, all which I remit to your Lordship's further direction, and for thys tyme do most humbly take my leave of your good Lordship.

Written at Wiston, the 10th day of September, 1572.

Your Lordship's most assured and poore

kynsman at commandemente,

JOHN WOGAN.

* *Sir*, as applied to a clergyman, was the translation of *Dominus*; it properly belonged to a bachelor of arts, who was addressed by that name up to a comparatively recent period. At this time popish priests were generally suspected of being conjurors, and many of them seem to have laid claim to that honour.

LORD W. HOWARD* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, understanding that this bringer was to repaire unto the courte, I wold not suffer hym to departe from hence withoute these fewe lines unto your Lordship, albeit I had little, or rather no matter at all, to wryte.

I do suppose I should have heard from your Lordship ere this, but that your busynes (which muste nedes be great in this dangerous tyme) hath bene the lett thereof. Very gladly wold I understand what advertisements be sent unto you, for I heare many tales spread abroad the countrey here; and therefore I am the more desirous to understand truly of such newes as you have there. If your leisure will permytt you to impart them privately unto me, I shall greatly think myself beholden to you. My Lord Chamberlaine (I dare say) will not deny you a groome of the chamber to carry your letters, so that you shall not excuse yourself by the want of a messenger, which you may have at your commandement; for I do remember that counsaillours in tyme past being in estimation, and absent from the courte, have ben advertised of such occurrents as hathe happened there. Thus being allwaies bold to trouble your Lordship, I commit you to God.

At my poore house in Reigatt, the 18th of September, 1572.

Your Lordship's assured frend,

W. HOWARD.

ARTHUR LORD GREY OF WILTON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, this morning I receaved your letter, wherin your Lordship dothe moste truly guess of th'encrease of my grief by the late horrible and tirannicall dealings in France, and with your Lordship I do pray to God that her Majestie maye have the wisdome to follow and magnitude to execute the things that maye divert the same from hence.

* William, Lord Howard, of Effingham Lord Privy Seal.

Where your Lordship wolde knowe the tyme that last yere I shoulde be wrytten unto to have taken the chardg of Irelande, I was never by letters directly wylled therunto. All that by writing tending therunto I receaved, was from my Lord of Leicester, the 9th of August, the courte then lying at Hattfield, wherin his Lordship dyd seeme but to give me an inckling of that to be the cause of my sending for: other letter I receaved not.

So praying your Lordship not to thynk hym idle, that is diversly opprest with care, but to suffer hym fyrst to be quiett in mynde, before you put hym to any further care of servyce, I humbly take my leave for this tyme.

From Whaddon, this 19th of September, anno 1572.

Your Lordship's moste assuredly,

A. GREY.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHELEY.*

My very good Lord, to this commission of the cownsell in the north, altho I said it came from you, I cannot get her Majestie's hand. After all other excuses, she said she was not wont to signe such thinges, except some bodie's hand were to it, that all were well conceived, and as it was wont. I do well perceive her Highnes is disposed to signe nothing, except your Lordship be here.

The day that you went from hence, after that I had dispatched into France and to Mr. Killegrew,† after dynner I sent to King, the knight marshalman, to come to Mr. Treasurer and me. When he came he was axed for Grene the priest, who was committed to his charge. He said your

* Mr. Thomas Smith was now Secretary of State.

† Ambassador in Scotland, commissioned to negotiate between the government and Grange and Lethington, who still held Edinborough Castle, and who refused constantly to acknowledge the King's authority.

Lordship gave him a letter, and commanded that he should be carried with that letter to the Bishop of London. I said he mistoke the matter; I had the matters in my keeping which should charge hym. and that my Lord of London, nor the commissioners, had neither information nor anythyng to do with hym, he should be examined by other of the counsell and me, wherof Mr. Treasurer was also privie. And ther-upon Mr. Treasurer and I charged hym forthwith to bring hym hither agayn; the which he said he wold do. This was upon Monday, about two or three of the clocke after noone, sith which time to this day, which is Wednesday at three after none, I can heare no word of hym, excepte that the Marshallmen do make; but of the said Green we cannot heare. Her Majestie hathe bene very sick this last night, so that my Lord of Leicester did watche with her all night. This morning, thanks be to God! she is very well. It was but a soden pang. I pray God long preserve her. These be shrewde al-arnes. The letters to the three wardens anempst Scotland be written by the advise of the Lord Honsdon, and sent. Thus I commit your Lordship to Almighty God.

From Wyndesor, the 15th of October, 1572.

Your Lordship's allwais,

T. SMITH.

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER * TO LORD BURGHELEY.

With dutie, these may be to advertise your honorable Lordship, that I did understande this present daie by certaine th'inhabitants of the towne of Farnham, where I do remayne,

* Robert Horn, a native of Durham, made Bishop of Winchester Feb. 16, 1560. He had previously been Dean of Durham. In the Latin life of Archbishop Parker, he is lauded as "*Vir animo magno et ingenio profundo, et in olfaciendis adversariorum technis non minus sagax, quam in antevertendis evitandisque prudens.*" He died in 1589.

of certaine lewde words and speeche uttered within these two or three dayes by one John Brabant of the saide towne, clothier, a man of better countenance than condition, and more endued with welthe, than well-affected to religion or the state, as maie seme by his words, who coming in place where certaine of his neighbours were reasoning of the Scriptures and of the late Duke of Norfolk, as it might seme, first saide upon occasion that some of them spake of ranke papists, *that there were good papists, and there were evil protestants*; and also sayde upon further communication, that *the late Duke of Norfolk was neither papist nor traytor*; and that if *the saide Duke were nowe alive he should not die*. Of which his lewde speeche, openlie spoken, seeming to carry discredit to the Prince and the noblemen who dealt in that matter, I thought my bounden dutie to certify your Honour, beseching that I may have understanding of your pleasure concerning him. And thus I humbly take my leave. From Farnham Castell, the 18th daie of November, 1572.

Your honorable Lordship's to commande,

ROBERT WINTON.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO LORD BURGHELY.

Where your Lordship sente unto me by Mr. Deane of Westminster, your desire to have Saunders' book * answered, your Honor shall understande that I have taken care thereof, and have labored certaine men which be at good leisure to do somewhat, and for a shewe to be firste sente owte to the reader both Englishe and strange,¹ I have appointed the confutation of so muche as concerneth the honor and state of the

* Nicholas Saunders' book *De Visibili Monarchia*. See Strype's *Life of Parker*.—Dr. Clerk's answer was published under the title, "*Fidelis servi subdito infideli Responsio*," without the name of the writer.

¹ Foreign.

realme, the dignitie and legitimation of our Prince, with juste defence of King Henrie's honor, Quene Anne's,* and partlie your owne, as by name you be touched, a pag. 686 unto pag. 739. I have committed it to Mr. D. Clarke, who is of late Doctor of Lawe at Cambridge, and for his more estimation, I have honested him with a room in th'Arches, who shall I doubt not but sufficientlie deale in the matter, and he shall not wante my advise and diligence. As for some particular matters which be not knowen to me, I trust to have your counsell furthermore to the better accomplishment of this worke, and other that shall followe.

I have spoken to Daie † the printer, to caste a newe Italian letter, which he is doing, and it will coste him forty marks, and loathe he and other printers be to printe any Latin booke, because they will not here be uttered, and for that bookes printed in Englande be in suspicion abroad.

Now, Sir, Daye hath complained to me that, dwelling in a corner, and his brotherne envying him, he cannot utter his books which lie in his hande, two or three thousand pounds' worthe. His friendes have procured of Pawles a lease of a little shop to be sett up in the church-yarde,‡ and it is confirmed. And what by the instant request of some envious booksellers, the Maior and Aldermen will not suffer him to sett it up in the church-yarde, wherein they have nothing to do but by power. This shop is but little and lowe, and leaded flatt, and is made at his great cost to the sum of forty or fifty pounds, and is made like the terrace, fair railed and posted,

* Anne Boleyn, the mother of Queen Elizabeth.

† John Daye, celebrated as the printer of Fox's *Martyrology*, was born of a respectable family at Dunwich, in Suffolk, and began printing at London, in 1546. In Mary's reign he was imprisoned, but afterwards fled beyond the sea. He died at Walden, in Essex, July 23, 1584. By his two wives he had twenty-six children.—See a very interesting life of this zealous printer, by Mr. J. G. Nicholls, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1832.

‡ These shops were built up against the walls of the church.

fitt for men to stande uppon in any triumph or shewe, and can in no wise either hurte or deface the same. And for that you of the councell have written to me and other of the commission to helpe Daie, &c., I praie your Lordship to move the Quene's Majestie to subscribe her hand to these or such letters, that all this entendment may the better go forward, wherein your Lordship shall deserve well both of Christe's church, and of the prince and state, &c. I praie your Lordship to respite the said Dr. Clarke in that worke which we have spoken to him for, that this may be the sooner done.

And thus God preserve your Honour in better health than I in a naughtie body feelee in this harde winter. At Lambeth, the 13th of December.

Your Honor's loving frende,

MATTHUE CANTUAR.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, your hasty going hence hath made, as appeareth, all thyngs here to turne backwards. I had somewhat ado to get to the Queene, and more to get anythyng signed. Yet I have gotten the letter to the King, the Queene, the Queene Mother, and the Queene of Navarre, which he* should carie, signed; but neither could I get the warrants for his diets signed, nor his passport. Th'one is but differred for the other, because it is six pounds *per diem*. Her Majestie saith it is more then was wont, and I that it was but as my Lord Admirall's, and that an Earle had never less. Her Majestie replied, that my Lord Admirall

* The Earl of Worcester, who was going into France to represent the Queen at the christening of Maria Elizabeth, only daughter of Charles IX., who was born on the 28th Oct. 1572, and lived only six years.

was of the counsell.* In fyne, she wold have it differd whiles your Lordship come hither.

For Dr. Dale, she will in no wise medle with anything of his, and it was that wherefore she wold have spoken agayn with you. Her Majestie saith, your Lordship knoweth her mynd, and that there are matters betwixt the Duke† and her, that you only and Mr. Walsyngham knoweth, and likewise of all the proceedings as hath passed in this matter from the beginning, the which a stranger cannot so soon understand. Then agayn, she liketh the wisdom and discretion of my lord ambassador‡ now in handling of those matters; and this is but a symple man, and she liketh not that he should deale in them further, her Majestie wold you shold call to you Mrs. Walsingham, and persuade her to be content for a moneth or two, and by that time this matter wold come to some end.

I said, if never so much hast were made, it wold be a moneth before my Lord of Worcester shold returne, or made an end of his message. And that the poor gentleman there was undone, having bene at so great charges, and now all thyngs waxing so deare; and his wife being here and great

* Lord Burghley, in his notes of occurrences, has entered carefully the different allowances to ambassadors. At the commencement of the reign, Lord William Howard, as is here stated, went to Flanders "with 6*l.* diet *per diem*." On the 12th Jan. 1559-60, was "Sir Tho. Chamberlayn sent into Spain to remain ambas. leiger, with 60*s.* *per diem* diet." July 28, 1560, "Sir William Cecill came to Greenwich from Scotland, so as he was absent sixty-three dayes, having had 4*l.* *per diem*, in toto 252*l.* and for postage, with twenty horses from London to Edinburgh, and from thence back to London, 117*l.*" In October, 1561, "Sir Thomas Chaloner, sent as ambassador into Spayn, with 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* diet." In July, 1563, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was sent into France, and Jan. 1566-7, Mr. Man into Spain, with the same diet, which seems to have been the regular allowance for ordinary ambassadors.

† The Duke of Alençon, younger brother of the Duke of Anjou, who was now proposed as a match for Elizabeth.

‡ Sir Francis Walsingham.

with child. "It is trew," saith her Majesty, "I hear say he hath sold an hundred marks a year land, and his wife is almost out of her witts for sorrowe; but," saith she, "my Lord must persuade her. It shall not be past for a moneth or two, or not so long: and so I pray you to write to my Lord by and by."

I wold have had her Majestie signe Mr. Dale's dispache streight, saying it was ready, and have kept it still, or left it with me, untill her Highnes thought good to send hym. It wold not be; and I perceive untill that your Lordship come agayn, there will be no good done. I said there were other things to be done, beside all these instructions, what my Lord should say, if any of these thyngs were demanded of hym, whereof De la Motte spake to her Highnes, as of the Vidame and Montgomery,* and other Frenchmen which be here, and also of the marriage with the Duke. So her Majesty told me of them somewhat, not much unlyke to that which I had contrived; the which I entred to bryng into my note against your Lordship's returne. But I perceive untill you returne nothyng wil be done. But in no wise wold her Majesty that Dr. Dale go with my Lord,† but after; although surely, in my mynd, it were better he went with hym; and my Lord of Worcester must take his leave on Saturday or Sonday, and take his jorney on Monday, as her Majesty supposeth, and her Majesty wold that your Lordship should gather a short collection, how the matter of marriage hath passed from the first begynning for the Duke of Anjou till now, that it may appere that the Quene-mother must first make answer resolutely touching the matter of religion, before her Majesty should procede any further.

* The Vidame of Chartres, and Gabriel, Count of Montgomery, had the preceding summer escaped with great difficulty in the massacre of Paris, and had sought refuge in England. Montgomery went to the aid of Rochelle this year, and in 1574, joining the protestants, who were in arms in Normandy, he was taken prisoner and put to death.

† The Earl of Worcester.

This is all that is hitherto done. And so I commit your Lordship to the Almighty God. From Hampton Courte, the 7th of Jan. 1572, by English account.*

Your Lordshipp's allwais at commandement,

T. SMITH.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHEY.

My very good Lord, I once agayn have moved the Quene's Majestie for Mr. Dale's going, and still she sayth there are other matters betwixt her Highnes and the Duke, which it is not fit that Dale shold be made privie unto. Howsoever the matter is, I know not the reason, but I perceive as yet neither his preparation, nor his losse which he is like to susteyne, nor the grief of Mr. Walsyngham, can make her Majesty signe anything that appertayneth to his going. Indeed I wysshed your Lordshipp here at home before my Lord of Worcester's departing, to th'intent that you might have persuaded that Dr. Dale might go with his Lordship. You should have done a very good deede. I perceive her Majestie had rather you should tarrie out a while, then he should go over at this tyme. "Why," saith she, "I beshrew you, why did you send for him?" "Mary," quoth I, "madam, I did wish he were here at the departing, or before, of my Lord of Worcester, to make perfect all things first that ways into France, and then with my Lord of Desmond† into Ireland." "Why," saith her Highnes, "I knew before he wold take phisick at London, and then recreate hymself a while at Tongs: I be-

* According to which account the year began on the 25th of March, instead of the 1st of January, as it was then reckoned in France.

† The Earl of Desmond and Sir John, his brother, rebelling in 1567, had been brought prisoners into England. They were this year taken back to Ireland by Sir Edward Fitton, and imprisoned at Dublin, but they soon after broke out of prison.

shrew you for sending for hym !” “ There is no hurt done,” quoth I, madam ; “ I will send hym word agayn this night what your Majestie doth saye, and I thynk then he will not be hasty to come, altho I wold wish hym here.”

And then I said, “ I had begun some instructions for my Lord of Worcester, if any such questions were axed of hym ; for such a nobleman ambassador may not seeme to be dumb or ignorant of your Highnes’ pleasure in such thinges as may be axed. Otherwise,” quoth I, “ I thynk it be not your Majesty’s pleasure that he should meddle in them, that is, for the French that be here, for the mariage, for the trafique.” All these her Majestie liked well, saying that she wold have the mariage first. For Scotland and Hume Castle I had but begun, so I had of her Highnes further instructions. I shewed also her Majestie Hawkyns’ letter. The prorogation of the Parliament, and the pardon for Florence, I have got signed, and little els. The prorogation I send your Lordship here inclosed. Her Majestie willed me farther to tell you, that Conte Montgomery and Vidame were here with her Highnes, and wold that her Majesty should send Hawkyns, or some other, by some colour, with some munition of powder to Rochell, as driven thither by tempest or contrary winds. But she saith, she cannot tell how to do it, especially being already spoken to by the French ambassador not to aid. Her Majesty praies you to think of it, and devise how it may be done, for she thynks it necessary ; and if it were done, Conte Montgomery possible would end his life there, beyng weary of this idle lyfe here. With your presence, I thynk verily you might have persuaded her Majestie that Dr. Dale should go nowe. Possibly you may do it by your letters. Your Lordship shall do a good dede to two, the one to go, the other to come home. For the love of God essay it ! All thyngs be ready and lacke but signing.

As for the Erle of Worcester, I hope I shall do well enough. For th’ Erle of Desmond, if your Lordshippe remember any more things to be done, as of the writings, the copies

whereof he should have with hym to be indented at Delyyn,¹ whereof I have onely one; or if there be any other thyng, which your Lordshippe do remember; let me have a word by answer, and I shall see it done, if I can.

Thus I commit your Honor to Almighty God. From Hampton Courte, the 8th of Jan. 1572, by Englishe account.

Your Lordshipps alwaies at commandement,

T. SMITH.

Th' Erle of Desmond hath bene before her Majesty, whom her Highness liketh well for his playnenes, and hath good hope of his truth and constancie. To Sir John I perceive she gave a privie nyppe, that as he hath a good wit, so he should hereafter use it well. He, like one not unwise nor unexpert, craved pardon, if any thing heretofore were amis, all should be amended. This her Majesty wold I should shew you, that you might give him a good lesson, when he taketh his leave of you: and understand that her Highnes shall alwaies understande of all his doings. Her Majesty told me she wold give th'erle apparell, and some gentle remembrance at his going away, which is very honorable and princely to do, and some comfort and amends for his long imprisonment.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, the Quene's Majestie hath not bene yesterday, nor to-day, much disposed to go abroad, nor to give audience, and therefore I could not by Mr. Blithe send any word unto you as I wold.

As touching Monsieur the Duke of Alanson, and all such maters, I perceive her Highnes liked very well the answers

¹ Dublin.

which I made in the instructions, which I read unto her; and that is enough for that matter untill further occasion be offered then is now likely.

I recited unto her Highnes the sum of Mr. Killegrew's letters, with the occurrents, and how the state standeth there, and I perceive her Majestie thynks mete he should now be revoked, but yet she wold not commande me to write his revocation. Nevertheles, I wyll be ready with it in a minute, and move it once agayn.

Her Majesty perceiveth well, that the Castillians* loke for aide of money, and to have Monsieur le Chevalier amonge them,† which no dowte wold be, if ones Rochell were at that poynt as the French wyssheth. But I trust before that tyme, they of the castell shall yeld or do worse, if it be true that Argile and Seton doth pretend.

Th'Erle of Desmond is here, and I perceive the Quene's Majestie will give hym some silks for apparell, and some money in reward. I hope he will be a good, playne, and faithfull subject.‡ He desireth very much that th'Erle of Ormond might also go into Ireland with hym, for he dowlth, when he hath driven all the rebells out of his contrey, (wherof he thynks hymself sure soone to do,) they will flie to th'Erle of Ormond's brothers and th'Erle of Clanrickard's sonnes, all those yet rebelles and not pardoned, nor assured of their lives, and so make more trouble in some one or other place, that he shall not be able to enjoye that quiet, the which he doth desire, to make hymself rich by it.

* The party who held Edinborough Castle against the authority of the King and Regent.

† The King of France was preparing secretly to send both men and money to the party of Grange and Lethington, and a large sum of money sent was intercepted by the other party at Blacknesse. Queen Elizabeth, not long after, knowing that the King of France was going to send men, sent some herself to reduce the castle, and so was beforehand with him.

‡ He proved quite otherwise.

Your Lordship may do well to thynk of this matter for her Majestie's service, consydering now the late wyldenes in the same English pale; if I can have any opportunitie, I will move her Majestie in it. I see no other copies nedeful to take out of your Lordship's book, then I have already, the which I have copied out; the rest methynkes apertayneth rather to the controversie betwixt th'Erle of Ormond and hym, and the orders already taken, the which, as they remayne there, so, if nede be, may at all tymes be sent over.

I shall cause letters to be made for her Majestie, as you write, to the Lord Deputie, how th'Erle of Desmond and Sir John shall be ordred, and that nothyng be done without the advise of Sir John Perrot first had. But her Majestie is so loath to signe anythyng, that I wot not what to do.

All th'Erle of Worcester's despache is not yet signed, which hath bene ready this six days, and now he is upon his taking leave. And the counsell's letters for lent, and the naming of the commissioners for the musters I will do, so sone as may be, but here be now very fewe counsellors.

Mr. Leveret, my Lord Deputie's man, promised to come to me for my letters to my Lord Deputie, but I have not yet heard of hym sithens. They have been ready this four days. I wold not that my Lord Deputy should reckon me unkynd, and not to wryte unto hym by his man. If I knew where he were, I wold send my letters unto hym. If he be gone, then I must send them by Mr. Fitton.

Betwixt hym and th'Erle of Clanrickard,* I intend to send with my Lords of the counsell's letters, both the Erle's books

* Sir Edward Filton was Governor of Connaught, and his government being somewhat rigorous, drove the sons of the Earl of Clanrickard into rebellion. The Earl, their father, went to the Lord Deputy to declare his innocency in the whole transaction, and presented a book of articles against Fitton, as the cause of the insurrection. Sir Edward Fitton sent his answers to them to the English council, who sent them away to the Lord Deputy and his council, that they might decide the difference between them.

and Sir Edward Fitton's answers, referring the decyding therof to my Lord Deputy and the counsell. If th'Erle will nedes have the matters sifted to the full triall, then each one to make hymself party agaynst the other, and to say and prove the most and worst they can.

Mary, if my Lords shall thynk so good, if the Deputy can persuade them both to wrap up all things by-past and to be friends, as they promised to be at their reconciliation before my Lord Deputy and the counsell, and to joynē faithfully for the furtherance of the Quene Majestie's service, and quiet and good order of the contrey hereafter, in my mynd it were the best way to treade all underfoote that hath gone heretofore, with a perpetuall ἀμνηστία, and to begyn a new lyfe, without grating upon old sores, and that for that matter.

If my Lord Deputie's man be not gone, as I trust he be not, it were well done that the dispache to tell of th'Erle of Desmond's and his brother's coming over, and in what sort, went before, that Sir John Perrot may be advertised, and his mynd knowen, and so the Erle not to be long detayned in suspense at Develyng. For seeing the Quene's Majestie doth mynd to tye th'Erle to her service with a benefit, it shold be *ample liberaliter et prolixè* done, not *maligne et parce*, which doth so disgrace it, that for love, many tyme it leaveth a grudge behynd in the hart of hym which shold receive it, that marrs the whole benefit.

Thus I bid your Lordship most hartily farewell.

From Hampton Courte, the 10th of Jan. 1572, by Englishe account.

Your Lordshipp's allwais at commandemente,

T. SMITH.

I send your Lordship the warrant for the £1000 even now signed, and the pardon which my Lord Keper wrote for, signed yesterday.

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord, I have received the boxe and the booke, sent unto this Quene, with the letters from the Frenche Ambassador, conveyed all hither by Mr. Randolphe, which I have delivered unto her according to your letters that came therewith, perceiving by her that in the boxe was containd a payre of beeds of stone, a little book covered with black velvet, a cross of gold, and a letter from the Duches of Guyse. She sayd the boxe was opened, and that she wanted another booke which she writt for. But I did earnestly affirme unto her, that neither was the box opened, nor anything lacking by meanes of your Lordship. Then she shewed herself much grieved that anything should come unto Mr. Randolph's hands, that should be sent unto her. The cause whereof (as I verily take it) is that she would have some expresse messenger to come, whereby she might get some intelligence according to her humour. She hathe presentlie written unto the Quene's Majestie, which I do send with her paquet unto your Lordship, among other her letters, to be used as shall please her Majestie.

Synce my last letters unto your Lordship, I have caused diligent searche to be made in Derbyshire and Staffordshire, and a part of Shropshire, by th'apprehension of the two scholars and others, of the wicked and cunning practises with Mr. John Revell; but as farre as I can understand yet they be all fled, saving one Averey, servant unto Lakyn,* late sheriff of Salop; who told some of my servants in his searching, that the same Averey was gone aboute busines of his. Therefore Lakyn is to answer for him at his repaire up, which is not to be omitted, for it is very like that Averey can discover very much matter, right necessary to be knowen. †

* In a letter of Shrewsbury to the council, printed in Lodge, he is called "Rowland Lacon, of Willey, near Bridgenorthe."

† There appears to have been a plot by certain "mass priests and

In the seeking for these lewd persons, I caused my men to apprehend one Thomas Comberford, of Comberford, gent., where the said Revell made his most abode, and where masses were frequented, and also two masse priests, that have said so many masses, as appeare by confession, if lawe will take place, as I dare affirme will amount unto 10,000 marks at leaste. I wyshe that bishops, and others of authoritie in the countrey, wold have more regard unto their charge, and not suffer such dangerous vagabonds to rest unpunished in their jurisdictions.

This said Revell, Comberford, and the two masse priests, I do presentlie send up unto your Lordship and the rest of the counsell.

And because Gilbert Talbot, my sonne, cometh up to do his dutie, and about other business of myne, I have appointed him

conjurers," as they are called, to deliver the Scottish Queen. Revel was to have introduced himself into the service of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the charmed plates of gold mentioned in this letter, with masses and conjurations to be said by the other complices, were to gain him the Earl's favour, as it seems, so that the latter would be deprived of the power to injure their unlawful designs. In the letter of the Earl of Shrewsbury referred to in the last note, we have some further information on this subject. "This Avery," he says, "upon myne examination, at the first wold nedes seem to be simple, playne, and utterly both innocent and ignorant of any lewd doings or practice, either by himself or by any other person; but, after sharper imprisonment for one night, he confessed that he was a dealer with the conjurers; and that he brought certain bookes of that arte unto John Revell, which the conjuring scholars named Palmer and Falconer, and Skynner the priest did occupy in their practyse at the said Revell's house; and he sayth further, that they conjured for divers causes, viz. for hid money, for helping a diseased, for knowing some secreete place to hide them, and to have certain knowledge also touching the state of this realme, whereby I gather that he can declare some further matter needful to be discovered." Feb. 1st.

Strype, in his *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, has fallen into the curious oversight of supposing the Earl of Shrewsbury to be Lord President of the Council of the North, and to have arrested these mass priests and conjurers in that capacity.

pecially in charge to see them safely and severally conveyed up, without any conference or intelligence to be held amongst them.

Thus I wishe unto your Lordship as wel as unto myself.
From Shefeld Castle, the 20th of January, 1572.

Your good Lordship's ever assured frend to my power,

G. SHREWSBURY.

This Quene informeth me, that she hath given order for the satisfaction of the Scottishman mentioned in your last letter unto me.

I thought good to send your Lordship the plates of gold, that the scholars made Revel believe to have vertue of getting my favor, and saving him from all perills, that ye may prize that jewel of vertue, and to shewe it unto her Majestie, if it be her pleasure.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, I have moved the Quene's Majestie as touching th'aide of the Regent* at this time, for the reducing of Edinburghe Castle into the King's hands. Her Majestie told me of a devise she had to do this without any such charge, by a letter written to them, &c. I shewed her Majestie that it was but a protracting of tyme, and that which they desired. Now, the French being thoroughly occupied, is the best tyme to do that enterprize which is to be done.

In fine, her Highnes condescended to myne opinion, and shewed herself very well pleased that your Lordship did make provision in this while to have powder and a shippe of Newcastle, and other things necessary provided before hand, for the doing, (as I told her Majestie your Lordship wold do,) and said that she thought on Saturday at night, or Sunday at

* The Earl of Morton.

the furthest, you wold be here, and then her Highnes wold fully determyne with you of all these matters to be set forward with speed.

Here was this day with me two men to whom my Lord of Shrewsbury gave commission to seke out conjurers and masse-mongers, who, as appeareth, hath done their endeavours very diligently. Many pretty books and pamphletts of conjuring they have shewed me this day, and to morrow they will bring the rest, with a good accompt of their travail in wryting, with a discovery of a pretty nest of papistes and conjurers. And thus I commit your Lordship to Almighty God. From Grenewiche, the 12th of Feb. 1572.

Your Lordship allwais at commandment,

T. SMITH.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, I shewed her Majestie yesternight late, of these Scottishe newes, and of the request which Mr. Killegrew* maketh, whether he should deliver in wryting the Quene's Majestie's opinion, touching the suspension of the pursuit of the King and the two Regent's† deaths. In both these she desired to communicate with your Lordship, and said as this day she dowted not your Lordship would be here, so that on Sonday she might resolve on all Scottishe matters, the which in my mynd were very necessary to be done. But if the Regent hath already lost Blacknes before he had it, and not happed the money neither, then I must nedes thynk it an unhappy and negligent mischance; but yet me thynks they should be still beseiged, and not able long to holde oute.

Here is also come more *indicia* of those conjurers, who be already taken, and a fowle knot of papisticall justices of

* Who was at this time ambassador in Scotland.

† Lenox and Murray.

peace discovered, and of massing priests. It were well done some were sent for out of hand, and others laid hand upon, if they could be found. When your Lordship is come, this may sone be done. Thus I take my leave of your Lordship. From Grenewiche, the 14th of Feb. 1572.

Your Lordship's allwaise at commandement,

T. SMITH.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHELEY.

I send your Lordshippe herewith a letter drawn to the two justices of assise, according as my Lord of Canterbury * requireth, but there is no more in the courte but Mr. Treasurer and I. In th'examinations, I perceiveth there is a note of your Lordship's hand, and therefore whether you will send that or the copie I dowte, yet there is no great matter in that. I have caused a copie of the examinations to be taken to remayne here.

I can nothing like the justices of assise for mass matters; they must nedes help them to escape punishment, for that fault which they wold gladly commit themselves if they durst. But I may peradventure be deceived, yet that is the common opinion that men hath on them. The haste which my Lord of Canterbury maketh, causeth me to send them to your Lordship, and pray you after your subscription to send this bearer to some other of the counsell now being in London, for their hands, and so to go farther to seke out the justices of assise, (if the matter must nedes be commytted to them,) and to deliver it them in hast.

I shewed the Quene's Majestie Kirkaldie's† confession, and

* The affair of the mass mongers and conjurers was turned over into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

† James Kirkaldy, who was taken at Blacknesse, on his return from France with money for those who held the Castle of Edinborough against the Regent.

other occurrents out of Scotland, and shewed Mr. Killegrew's desyre, that the 'peace makers' might shortly be transported thither. "Who be they?" quoth her Majestie, "Mary," quoth I, "your Majestie's cannons; they must do it and make finall conclusion." "I warrant you," quoth her Highnes, "and that shortly." "Then," quoth I, "I am glad, for it is better to prevent then be prevented. What some wold do, if they had leisure, your Majestie perceives by Kirkaldie's examination." I trust your Lordship do not slack. The weather is faier and propice, and time runneth away.

Mr. Holstock* hath written to my Lords of the counsell, and, as I perceyve by the bringer, to your Lordship to the same effect. I cannot see that my Lords are like to mete before Saturday, and that which he requireth, the commission for triall of pirates, in my mynd either the Admiraltie or the Chancery, may do it without troubling my Lords. Thus I commit your Lordship to Allmighty God. From Grenewich, the 19th of Feb. 1572.

Your Lordship's allwaise at commandment,

T. SMITH.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHELEY.

I have sent your Lordship as much as appertayneth to the munition and things required for that castle, either in the counsell chest, or in my chamber. Mr. Sutton had two other remembrances of me for the wants of Berwick, to shewe to your Lordshippe. It were pitie that good work should be staied.

In sending back agayn th'examinations of the masse mongers, the letter which your Lordship signed was left

* The Controller of the Navy, who had been sent out with some ships to scour the seas of pirates.

behind, and so it was not in the pacquett. Wherefore I caused Mr. Tremayne to write anew to the same effect, and to be signed of so many as be here, and so I return it to your Lordshippe agayn to have your hand to it, and then to be sent immediately away.

I received from my son these articles or communication betwixt my son and Sarlebey.* I praye your Lordship take paynes to reade them over, and to think upon them, agaynst you come next to the court. I shewed them her Majestie, and some she liked, some she liked not, as that article of religion, and she willed me in any ways to move her on it agayn, as sone as your Lordship came, before she went her progresse, because (she said) your Lordship knew what hath passed heretofore in that matter.

And I wold also know her Majestie's resolution betymes, for I wold not that my son should pass too farr without sure warrant in such matters. And that (your Lordship knowes) is forward enough.

Thus I commit your Lordship to Allmighty God. From Grenewich, the 20th of Feb. 1572.

Your Lordship's allwais at commandment,

T. SMITH.

* Strype gives a tolerably detailed and connected account of Sir Thomas Smith's colony in the Ardes, here alluded to, derived principally from these letters. The Ardes is a tract of ground on the eastern coast of Ulster, bordering upon the district of Clandeboy, which was then held by the Hebridian Scots under Sarleboy, the same who had treacherously slain the rebel Shane O'Neil.

Sir Thomas obtained a patent for this territory in 1571, and associated with himself his illegitimate son Thomas Smith, who went over with a party of adventurers to colonize it. A treaty was at this time in progress between the new colonists and their neighbours, the Scots, for the receiving Sarleboy and his people into the Queen's protection as naturalized subjects : but the success of the undertaking was hindered by the death of young Smith, who was intercepted and slain by one of the wild Irish, and after his father's death, a few years later, the colony was entirely neglected.

I received after the wryting of this letter from your Lordship the letter that was forgot, and a warrant for three hundred pounds to be sealed with signet and privie seale, which shall be expedited with all speed.

Your Lordship doth not forget a letter or warrant to the Lord President of the North, or some other, for men to go with the ordinance, or els it were not well to trust the Quene's ordinance with them, for all theyr hostages. Sir Edward Hastings have bene divers tymes in hand with me, that if my Lord,* his brother, do send any men from his Presidentship, that he might have the charge of conducting of them. Your Lordship knoweth his good will to serve.

Because Kirrie is not here, therefore for the privie seale, I am fayne to send the privie seale first to hym to set his hand to it.

My Lord Chamberlayn† is in the same mynd as your Lordship and I am, that these justices will rather cloke then open, excuse then accuse them who be worthy of accusation, and dowtefull whether they will hynder the discovery of the rest, that wold be broken, but yet I condescend to your Lordship's opinion, that their doings for this end may be tried.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Yesternight, if it please your Lordship, I came to the courte, and this day I heard Mr. Dr. Goade's sermon, which was good; but because that her Majestie was away, he said he was fayne to omit diverse thinges, which he most would have treated of, lest the speeche should have been unconsonant to the auditory. He seemes to me a very grave and considerate man.

* The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the North.

† The Earl of Sussex.

I have perused the examinations taken at London, as touching the fray betwixt Copston and Stace, where Copleston, or Copston, was slayne, and drawen them into a sum, with the quotation of the testimonies, which I sent your Lordship this night by Mr. Trefrye. I think Mr. Dier shall bring them. I think th'enquest will fynd Copston guilty of his owne death, and th'other to have killed him unwillingly, and in his own defence, for to that end doth tend in a maner all the testimonies.

My Lord of Worcester, we say here, is this night at the court, where the Quene's Majestie is. I am glad he is safely returned, and marvell that I have no letters out of France, but it is possible I may have to-morrow.

These wynds* that brought my Lord over, made me soone weary of *Monthawer*,† because I could not gref, nor transplant any trees, that wynd being the most enemy to all cutting, paring, or breaking of trees here in England, that can be, or setting of herbes.

I have received this day letters from my son out of Ireland. Still he proceedeth with his communication with Sarleboy to make those two nations all one, and, as it appeareth, the Scot is the more earnest, considering indeede that if the English and Scottishe should strive together, when the one hath weakened the other, the wild Irish, like the Put Hawk, might drive them out, or carry away both. In myne opinion, the Quene's Majestie can lose nothyng if Sarleboy be made d nizen, and homages to her Highnes, with oathe and yearly rent, to acknowledge the hold which he hath, to have it only of the Quene's Majestie's gift, and so he to be a faythfull subject, or else to lose his right.

The making of hym denizen may be considered; whether he and all his, in generall words, or hym and so many as be

* North-east.

† Monthaut, or Hill Hall, in Essex, the favourite residence of Sir Thomas Smith. It came to him by his wife.

particularly named; and likewise the giving of the lands from the Quene's Majestie to hym above all, or to divers personnes named, or by particular meanes from me and my son. But if her Majestie be resolved ones of the ende, that is, to make hym denizen and as meer English, the maner how may the easlier be considered and directed. By that I can yet learne, neither Capt. Malby* nor Piers be restored to their bands, altho' your Lordship knoweth it was earnestly written that they should be.

I trust the Quene's Majestie, if her Highnes will bestowe no foote or horsemen upon my son, will at the least this year suffer those bands to be there to countenance and support that now begun aid and fort, and not leave it so naked as it hath been all this wynter, by cassing of those bands which heretofore was the defence of Knockfergus, and ther barr of the North. Certayne it is, that if my son had not releived the Lord of Harvey's band at his own charge, Knockfergus had bene in great danger or els cleane lost. Because I know your Lordship should be very much busy now at her Majestie's being with you, I spake to Mr. Hatton, and now wryte to him agayn, when he see a convenyent tyme, to move her Majestie for that matter of Sarleboy. Tyme goeth away, and messengers and letters comes not very fast to and from Ireland. Sommer cometh on, and therefore before wynter do go, the purpose and designe wold be forseene and provided for, wherby, in somer, his actions might be ordered. Thus I bid your Lordship most hartely farewell.

From Grenewich, this Friday, 27th of February, 1572.

Your Lordship's allwais at commandement,

T. SMITH.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Your Lordship's letters found me at Fulham. The into-

* Governor of Lecale, near Smith's colony.

lerable business wherewith I was burdened at London made me fly hither, *ut requiescam paululum*, and that I may have leisure to prie into my boke for four or five days. I learne that the Maior of London hath fully advertised your Lordship touching our dealings with this Portingale, who of too much boldnes and without any color of authority, hath suffered mass-mongers of longe tyme in his house, to the great derogation of Godd's glory, the great offence of the godly and religious, and contrarie to the laws of this realme. I, understanding of it, with my associate in commission, required the Shirif of London, Mr. Pipe, to apprehend such as he should fynde there comitting idolatrie. Sundry he found there ready to worship the calfe; only he apprehended four students at law, freshmen the most part of them, I suppose. These I comitted to the Flete, until your further pleasure be knowne. Francys Gerald, the Portingale, offered to shote doggs, to smite with his dagger, and to kill, in his rage. There was found the altar prepared, the chalissee, and their bread god; and in the house, as I heare, a great number of Englishmen hyd, as mynded to heare masse. Because the Sherrif had neither apprehended the Portingale, neither the masse priest, I gave commission to the Quene's messenger Noriss, to apprehende them both, but the messenger returneth to me, signifying that the Portingale is at the court to complayne; which to be true I understand by your Lordship's letters. Truly, my Lord, such an example is not to be suffered, God will be mightily angrie with it, it is too offensive; if her Majestie should grant it or tollerate it, she can never answer God for it. God's cause must be carefully considered of, *maledictus qui facit opus Dei negligenter, qui contemnunt me erunt ignobiles*. God wil that his ministers purge the church of idolatrie and superstitions; to wink at it, is to be partaker of it. You that well serve God, to see that idolater and godlesse man sincerely punished, if you wil let hym over to me, and give me authoritie, I wil hande hym *secundum virtutes*. Your order I loke for, and that I wil see executed so farr as my power will reach, upon

the receipt of the Quene's letter. Thus much I thought my duty to write. God preserve your Lordship, and direct all your doinges to his glorie.

Scribled at Fulham, in hast, this March 2, 1572.

Your servant at commandement,

ED. LONDON.

SIR HENRY KILLIGREW TO LORD BURGHELEY.

May it please your Honor, the morrowe after Capt. Avington came from the castle, I did participate his answer here inclosed, with the Regent's Grace, to see whether he would like of the conditions, and whereunto his Grace made me answer, that without the King had the castle in trusty and sure handes, there would be no secure peace, and that Lyddington's answer was but to delay time, and to breed jealousy, seeing he would not deale as th'other noblemen had done, but yield himself to another prince, wherewithall, for his owne parte, he could be content, but the nobility would never condescend to such manner of dealing. To be shorte, I cannot perceive by his Grace, nor any of his counsaile, that they will suffer Graunge to remayne with the keeping of the castle, and, as long as that holdeth out, there wil be always trouble and treason here among them. I cannot but mervayle what they meane in the castle, to continue so obstinate, unles God have blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts, so far as they have no power to receive reasonable conditions, which they may have, and was offered them heretofore sithence my coming here, at our first conference at St. Johnston's, which I sent to Mr. Secretary long sithence. They in the castle had knowledge (I knowe not by whatmeanes) that Verac was stayed in

* Sir Henry Killigrew was now ambassador in Scotland. Lloyd, who has placed him amongst his worthies, has given us a high encomium of his character, his abilities, and his scholarship.

England, and peradventure may be in hope that he wol be here to helpe them to make a better bargayne for them, or els they look for ayd out of France, whereof I can learne nothing here.

I moved his Grace for some recompence in consideration of her Majestie's chardges, according to your Honor's minde sent me by Mr. Marshall of Berwick, wherunto his Grace answered that the King was so poore, that he had nothing to give her Majesty but the same conditions that was graunted at her Majestie's sending to Leith, and to joyne with her Majesty in a good league, should be all that he thought could be done. And further to encourage the soldiers, they should have the spoyle of all that was within the castle of golde, silver, or goods, that appertayned to any man, except the King, or the value thereof in money.

I stay my messenger for that his Grace will write himself to the Queen's Majesty, and to your Honor, and to my Lord of Leicester, touching that which hath passed, and also somewhat more. I have not yet the Duke's letters and the Erle of Huntleye's, but looke for them dayly. His Grace willed me to write unto your Honor, that the pledges and hostages might have the favour to lye with some noblemen or gentlemen for ease of their chardges, as with the Bishop of Durham, the Deane, and some other, wherein the more favour is shewn them, the more shall they be bound unto her Majesty and to your Honor. And if there be none in the Bishoprick to take them, rather then they would lye at their own chardges, I think they would go farther into Yorkshire.

The shippes that were stayed with Verac be arrived this day, and newe search and examinations to be taken of them by the Regent's Grace.

The Regent would have no more sending to the castle untill the army and munitions be ready to enter, and then to have it openly summoned by an officer of armes, according to the custom in such cases.

His Grace hath an instrument that goeth into the castle

and conveyeth Lyddington's letters. Uppon Saturday he shal be taken, and it is thought such letters upon him as they of the castle have written into France since Capten Avington was with them, who, at his leave-taking of them, seeing they would not deliver the howse unto the King, willed them to look for nothing but extremity.

This much more unto your Honor, abiding my despatch, which shal be more ample, beseeching Almighty God to preserve your Honor in health and all yours. There never was so fayer weather seene in this country.

My Lord Seton's eldest son is newly come home out of Flanders, and one Peter Douglas with him. They took shipping at Ostend the 25th of the last, and for newes sayeth the Duke of Alva lay himself at the siege of Harlem; that he prepared ten thousand men at Antwerp to be shipped in twenty great shippes, and one hundred victualers to go with them. I asked, whither; and he said, to Flushing. I demanded, how they did for victuals in Flanders, he answered our Englishmen brought much thither. This he told me this morning, before the Regent's Grace. Farther he told the Regent, that one Mr. John Hamilton had willed him to make his commendation of service unto his Grace, and he was at his commandment to do him what service he could, either with the Duke of Alva, or with the Quene of Scottes. His Grace asked whether he had intelligence from the Quene; he said, yea. He further inquired whether he could speak with her, which he was not able to resolve; and this he did to prove the man. His Grace is in purpose to lay hands uppon my Lord Seton, and to put him in safe keeping, because he continually dealt with the castle.

Stephen Wilson, that carried letters from th'Erle of Argile into France, is returned, and taken by the Regente's commandment. To-morrow he shall be examined. Mr. James Kircaldy hath hitherto confessed no more then I have already written in my former letters. I have gotten his wife to speak with him, and given her instructions somewhat to

enquire of him, assuring her that if he deale playnely and truly, I wil be an earnest suter to the Regent for him.

In talke with his Grace of this peace, and the state of the countrey, after the castle shal be rendring into the King's hands, he yet confessed that as long as the Scottish Quene lived, there would be treason, troubles, and mischief. I answered he might help that, and he said that when all was done, he thought at this next parliament to be holden here, to prove the noblemen after this concord, to see what might be done. Whereunto I replied nothing for that time, but thought good to signify thus much unto your Honor by the way.

From Edenbourgh, this 4th of March.

The Regent is minded to proclayme a road uppon the thieves at the time that our men shal be ready to come in, supposing it will make them afraid, and to keepe good rule in the mean tyme.

By your Honour's most bound,

H. KYLLYGREW.

WILLIAM HERLE TO LORD BURGHELEY.

* A discontented man wold double his service and credite there, and content your Lordship in that he had found so juste an instrument to decipher even their secret counsels and motions. For of a meane man, he saith, there was none more dere and familiar than he was, nor abler to enter into his bosom sooner, which he hopes to revive again, not only with him, but with other of great calling, whose humours he can entertayne very well.

Then, for our Englishmen there, he persuades that he may

* This letter has the appearance of being imperfect at the beginning. Herle seems to be speaking of somebody in Flanders or Spain, who was to act as a spy on those who were plotting against Elizabeth.

bothe understand and direct all their courses, wherin your Lordship shall adventure nothing either in credit or money by trusting of him over, but rather if he should be an ill man, to make a gayne by having him hence. And to conclude, he saith, that he may, considering these tymes, and the dispositions of Spayne towards us, do good many wayes, but harme no ways, though he wolde; desiring herin to be justified and accepted by th'effect only of his true and diligent service, which shall appeare to the Queene and your Lordship to be both sincere and faithfull. Wherunto I add humbly, in my opinion, that he appears a full reconciled man, and will performe more than he promiseth, for he hath a zeale to his countrey, and wold wyn his credit agayn by what hardnes or trial soever it were. And as there came good intelligence thence of late by Brittain, so this man, if he prove juste, might exceede them all, be it either for sufficiencie or secresye.

Lastly, I have to advertise your Lordship of a new conspiracye, that is intended by certain decayed men, to go over into Spayne, and to joyne with Stukely in his practises for the invading of Ireland, and the subversion of this state, as far as in them lyes. The matter is handled in Saint Liger's howse, and there concluded upon. The chief parties be Sir Warham Seint Liger hymself, and Jerem Brett, having allured to them Martin Furbisher,* with the promes of 20*l*. land by the year, or with the vallew of it in ready money to transport them over to their cosin Stukeley. They have joyned to them one Haselby, a seaman, and John Pools my friend, for whom I am most sorry, but I preferre loyalty to any friendship. They also intend to bring in some more decayed gentlemen, and some other suche as they note either discontented or addicted this waye, and among those they

* The celebrated navigator, Martin Frobisher. He was born near Doncaster, in Yorkshire, and died of a wound received in an engagement at Brest haven in 1594. This letter gives some curious information on his private history.

wold have young Browne with them, a base brother to the Lord Montacute.*

Their pretence wil be to ship corne over to Ireland, and therewith to passe into Spayne, to which end if Jerem Brett have not bene already to your Lordship to obtayne a lycense for the sayd corne, he meanes to be. The occasion of this bile (besydes their own decaye and lewdnes) is an offence that some of them have conceived agaynst your Lordship, namely, Sir Warham Sent Liger, for the release of the Erle of Desmond into his contrey again, which he takes in so ylle parte, that he hopes to see the Quene's Majestie, he sayth, destroyed, with all the packe of such villanous counsellors as now governe, having opened to your Lordship great secrets, he saith, of the sayd Erle of Desmond, and of the state of Ireland, whereby he hath discredited hymself unto your Honor, and is rejected withall from that he looked for, and should have had there, butt the Pope shall grow on their heeles, ere either he advertyse any more, or serve in suche a state, where upstarts do commande, and that the nobility of the land is kept back and contemned, cursing that blablipped cowardly foole, the Duke of Norfolk, that he had not gone roundly to his busynes, who might have had fiftene men to one of the Quene's, and yet wold suffer hymself to be entrapped like a dolte. Which words and matter, as they be grevous, so it maye please your Lordship to construe them as you see wise, and to hold me discharged for imparting the same unto you; whereby your Lordship shall trye the whole truth, with further circumstance, if you vouchsafe to speak with Furbisher's wife, whom I will send to you with a little servante of myne, by whom her husband may be made a meane to entertayne this matter to its full rapenes. For they cannot departe before the nexte terme, for that their barck will not be ready till then.

* And therefore base son of Sir Anthony Brown, who was in such high favour with Henry VIII. Lord Montagu himself was a zealous Catholic, though a loyal subject, and as such esteemed by Elizabeth.

I have enjoyned great secresye to Furbisher's wife, who is the discoverer of this packe, and though it procede partly of displeasure borne to Sir Warham Saint Liger, as I perceive, and partly of some jarre happened between Furbisher and her, by Sir Warham's meanes, yet there is great likelihood that every parte therof should be true, and by such displeasures women many tymes have disclosed great treasons, wherein it may plesse your Lordship to examine her of every parte that I have written, which she will shew you also written with her hand.

Now in th'end these few words touching myself, beseeching your Lordship to be good unto me, and to consyder of my hard estate, for neither have I countenance nor ability to lyve by any longer, nor hope remayning, but in the Quene's Majesty alone, and in your Lordship. You know that I have not bene importunate since I was committed to the Tower,* which is now two years since and more, but rather modestly attending what shold be disposed of me, than craving what become me not. Notwithstanding her Majestie hath bene good unto me dyverse wayes, bestowing sums of money uppon me, wherwith partly the charges of my long imprisonment in the Marshallsea and other debts were payd, and partly I have lyved by the rest. Also her Majestie bestowed a lease in reversion upon me, which I followed not. And lastly, having granted unto me, by your Lordship's good meane, the stallment of Richard Smith's detts, where I thought it shold have bene serviceable to her Majestie and profitable to myself, I perceive it cannot be performed in any of the parts, and thus I rest, by myne own unhappiness, an unhappy man still. But if it wold please her Majestie to bestowe upon me the reversion of Chamberlayne's office in the Tower, (which must be given to somebodye,) I shold not only be well stayed thereby, but also enabled therin to obtayne a wydow that hath

* He appears to have been committed to the Tower under pretended charges, for the purpose of acting as a spy on some state prisoners.

a hundred pounds by the year, which wold greatly expresse her Majestie's graciousnes towards me, as a preferment of her own, and make me able to serve her in some better degree, to the encouragement of other; but without suche a countenance and stay first in one of my sort, nothyng either pre-ayles or is achieved, which I humbly commend to her Majestie and your Lordship. Marry, I have neither fee farme nor freholde to commend myself to the rowme, to make me the fitter for it, but only my faithfull, humble, and diligent meaning, which shall make me the more bound in duty and obedience to deserve her Majestie's liberality in obtayning this, and therin do princes most shew their greatnes, in raysing those that are under foote. At leastwise consydering that the greater number of small offices in this land are employed upon those that have as littell as I, and perhaps less good will, I humbly hope not to be excluded from the rest, and that my faith may have some place of beginning, as other that pretend to rise by vertue and service, which now is to be hoped for or never, being growen to gray hairs and to a staydnes of life and manners, which altogether do very humbly entreate for me, wherewith I humbly take my leve, craving pardon for this my long letter, and praying to God for your Lordship's good helth and contynuance. From London, this 16th of Marche, 1572.

Your Lordship's very humbly,

W. HERLLE.

THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My most humble commendations unto your Honor premised, &c. My verie good Lorde, I most entirelie, in the name of Christ Jesus, besече you, (in whom under God and my Prince is my onlye truste and staye,) vouchsafe amonge

* Edmund Scambler, consecrated Bishop of Peterborough on the 16th January, 1560, and removed to Norwich in 1584.

your other cares of the state of this realme to looke upon these sheires of Northampton and Rutland committed in spirituall government unto me. And for because God hath blessed your counsailes and devises ever to the welthe of this realme, let it not greve you to ayde me with your counsailes for the better discharge of my office, and peace of the countrie. I am, without Godde's assistance and yours, very weake and unable to execute and dischargd the same in these troubles, nowe moved and procured by those whom men do call puritans and their fautors.

They are growen apparently to neglecte, if they do not abhorre, the divine servise sette owte by public authoritie. So that in the towne of Overston, where Mr. Carleton dwelleth, there is no divyne service, upon most Sondayes and holidayes, according to the booke of common prayer, but insteade thereof two sermons be preached most commonlie by one Mr. Standen, and one Mr. Kinge, men for their opinions not licensed by me to preache at this daie. When theie are determined to receyve the communion, theie repaire to Whiston, where it is their joye to have manie owte of divers parishes, principallie owte of Northampton towne, and Overston aforesaid, with other townes thereabout, there to receive the sacramentes, with preachers and ministers to their owne liking, and contrarie to forme prescribed by the publique order of the realme, which bredeth in myne opinion great scisme and division, with grudge and mallice amonge the people, so that I am doubtfull that further evill will ensewe thereof. To their purposes they have drawen divers yonge ministers, to whom it is plausible to have absolute authoritie in their parrishes. In their waies they be verie bolde and stowte, like men that seeme not to be withoute great frendes. Whoso standeth agaynst them, theie seeke to moleste by some meanes, as latelie my Chancellor, whom by indytments verie much, and yet more by clamors and reproches openlie in the face of the countrie, they disquieted, professing not to be satisfied by anie other meanes but by his

departure owte of the countrie, which no dowbt of it wolde make well of their syde, and for their purpose ; for if men by voices and clamors might be removed owte of the waie which withstand their unlawfull doinges, I doubte not but that theie will shortelie have frendes enowe, and fewe to resist their attemptes. I write not this to defend my Chancellor, if theie be able justelie before discreete and indifferent judges to finde him culpable ; so that I wolde not have him to escape dewe correction, according to the quantitie and qualitie of his faulte, but I wold be lothe to have him permitted and given over to their pleasures. And glad I wold be, that indifferent judges might have the hearing both of his adversaries' offences and of his, before whom I truste he shal be found either in no faulte at all, or ells in such faulte onlie, as maye well obtayne forgiveness. If it be otherwise it shall not greve me, so that he suffer not more than he hath deserved. In this my Chancellor's case I have to crave some ayde to bringe it to the juste triall of the wyse, as in myne owne causes aforesaid, I stande in greate neede of some direction from you, for seing theie are encreased and waxen bolde, when I proceede, if I be destitute of a Chancellor, when some of them have offended, I am written unto by those whose letters in mylde words be unto me rather a commandement then a request. Therefore I beseeche you, as before I have done, to relieve and helpe me with some parte of your counsell. I wolde not thus trouble you, my good Lorde, if this matter touched not as muche the peace and quietnes of the laietie, as it doth the regiment of the spiritualtie ; wherefore I besech you pardon me, if in this anxietie and doubtfulnes I flie unto you for advise. At Peterborowe, this 12th of Aprill, 1573.

Your Honor's at commandement in the Lord Jesus,

EDMUNDE PETRIBURG.

THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Maye it please your Honor to be advertised, that this pamphlett inclosed was sett up at the Exchange, which I caused to be translated, and thought good to participate your Lordship thereof. The common report goeth, the present occasion of the scarcitie of butter, deare victuayles and grayne, is through the secret transporting the same beyond the seas.* The scarcitie of victuayles and grayne both in France and the Low Countrie considered, as also the civill dissensions at this tyme, whereby there is neither suche tyllage used, nor yet such farther provision of themselves to be had as heretofore they have made, will cause a further scarcitie and a high price of the same, which thing considered, I fear me, unlesse your Honor and the rest of her Majestie's most honorable counsell dothe so redresse it in tyme, will be an occasion to make a scarcitie among us through the greedy desyre of dyvers which by stealth doth transport the same out of sundrye crekes and havens out of this realme.

And because it waxeth both skarse and deare about some of the coasts, there is some which cometh up higher into the lande to buy grayne, and as I am informed that about Royston, malt hath rysen 3s. and more in a quarter, of late, and that chiefly by the Kentyshe men. Thus am I bould to trouble your Honor, as my dewtie requyreth, praying you to accept of my good will therin, as knoweth God, who long preserve you in his feare, with prosperous successe in honor. From my howse in London, this 10th of May, 1573.

Your Honor's most humble to use at commandement at all times,

LEONELL DUCKETT, Mayor.

* At this time France and Flanders were supplied hence with corn, beer, coals, and many other similar articles, and the call for them in those countries seems to have been so great that it was often found, or at least thought, necessary in England to restrain and sometimes forbid entirely, the exporting of them.

DR. DALE TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My good Lord, I trust your Lordship doth pardon my slacknes in writing unto your Lordship. I heard not untill now out of England since my coming hither, and hitherto it hath bene but yong days with me here.

Their whole doings here doth depend upon Rochell,* of the which if they were ridde of one way or other, they wold go about their own advancement, and let other men alone with those matters. The Quene-mother herself saith they are out of hope to bring them to any composition, although they do all that they can to bring it therunto, therefore they do appoint to give a generall assault about this day.

The town of Rochell is in a maner four square. The west syde lyeth upon the sea, the south syde lyeth upon salt marshes full of pitts to make salt, the north syde is overflowen with the tyde at every full water, and the east syde, which only is accessible, hath at the corner towards the south, an out bulwark called the bulwark of the porte of the Cogne, and at the corner towards the north, one other mightie bulwark, St. Angely, which two bulwarks do flank all the curtayne of the east syde.

Monsieur hath battered the bulwarke St. Angely, but holdeth it not himself, and lyeth in the dych at the foot of a breach made into a curtayne of the wall. They of the towne are on the rampart, sometyme at the half pyke. What trenches or fosses be within is not knowne. There are divers gateways and platformes in the towne, that do command the ramparts at the place of the breache.

* The Protestants, who had established themselves in Rochel, after the massacres of the preceding year, and who had been ever since besieged by the Catholics, not only defended themselves obstinately, but from time to time sallied out of the town, and made destructive attacks on their enemies. The Duke of Anjou, who commanded the siege, left the place on being elected King of Poland, and the Protestants soon afterwards obtained a peace.

Now the towne being thus, and their doings here being as I have expressed them in particular advertisements herein inclosed, your Lordship will best consider the state of this contrey. And thus I do moste humblie take my leave of you.

From Moret, the last of May, 1573.

Your Lordship's to his small power,

VALENTYNE DALE.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, I thank you for the good news of Edynborough Castel, which I shewed straight to her Highnes to make her glad, as indede her Majestie was of it.

For money, she said, that she signed yesterday to you a warrant of 3000*l.* for that matter. If it be so, the warrant which I have for it is void.

As touching Monsieur de Lombre's sute for, as it were, a protection, Mr. Beale said he would speak more fully with your Lordship what is to be done in it, for to me it is somewhat strange. The rest of his talke, as I perceive, is not of so great importance, but he may put it in wryting.

My Lord Deputie's letter she hath differred till night, as well as the proclamation for the new books, &c. She sayd Tremayne cannot be dispatched yet this three days. I do not knowe the cause why, but if it be so, it is no great matter, if my Lord Deputie's man went before, but as he told me he had some busines to be done by the way, and therefore required to go before.

What allowance Tremayne should have, or such messengers were wont to have, I know not. I pray you let me have your Lordship's advise.

The Duke of Brunswicke's messenger is this day dispatched with the letter, and had a thirty pounds in reward.

As yet her Majestie remayneth in one opinion for my Lord

of Essex.* I trust it will continew, and his Lordship had nede make much haste. The tyme draweth away, and wynds be changeable, and mynds. My Lord of Ormond had long and great talk with her Majestie yesternight, and so had some other body somewhat suspected for the same matter.

Thus I commit your Lordship to Almighty God. From Grenewiche, the second of June, 1573.

If your Lordship writing to my Lord Deputie† could move and persuade him to fill agayn Malbie's men with the two horses dyminished, you should greatly encourage Malbie, and, as I believe, verily do the Quene's Majestie very good service, though he had them but this year only. While the service is greene, and till the colours be on that side somewhat settled, what hurt the removing of them, at my son's furst coming, your Lordship doth well understand.

Your Lordship's allwaies at commandment,

T. SMITH.

SIR H. KILLIGREW TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My dutye most humbly remembered unto your Honor, may it please you to be advertised, that since the rendering of the Castle,‡ whereof you have heard, here hath been nothing worthy the writing, but of the deathe of Lydington, whereof my Lord Generall did advertise, who died not without sus-

* Walter Earl of Essex, who was now preparing for his expedition into Ireland, against Brian Mac Phelim, who had burnt Knockfergus, and raised rebellion in Ulster.

† Sir William Fitzwilliams was at this time Lord Deputy of Ireland.

‡ Edinburgh Castle was taken on the 28th of May, after having held out against the English upwards of a month. Grange, his brother James Kirkaldy, and two others, were afterwards hanged by the Regent. Lethington was spared, but died immediately after at Leith. Killigrew, by his exertions, saved the life of Sir Robert Melville.

picion of poyson. Although for myne owne part I am able to say nothing therein, for I neyther did see nor speake with any of the prisoners since they came forth, because they were so odious, both to the Regent and to the people.

As soone as the weather served, th'artillery and munitions were sent to Berwyk, which I trust be safely arrived there. The Regent sent a barke armed to watch them.

I made searche for letters in the castle, and do send your Honor suche as are yet come to my hands. But for the Duke, his practyse, and our rebelles, with the French practyses, I think Lydington caused them to be burned the night before they came forth.

But in Grange's chambre sondry papers was founde, and lately the crowne, sword, and sceptre, and hydden in a wooden chest in a cave, where the inventory was of the jewelles, which are many and riche, but the most parte in gage; some with the Lord of Fernihurst, some with my Lady Hume, some with my Lady Lydington, and many with sondry other persons, who be all known. Whereof the Regent hath recovered some already, and shall do more. Grange had sondry delyvered him by one Mosman, before his coming out of the castle, which he put in his hose, as Mosman sayth, and declareth the parcelles which the Regent's Grace hath sent to the Generall, as also the note of such as be in the hands of the Ladye Hume and of Lydington, because they be in the Generalle's garde.

The wyning of this castle hath bene a good meane to execute the act made for religion, for that many and some great personages have subscribed, and almost few or none refuse, but suche as do lose their livings, if they be spirituall, and temporal men their offices, and be excommunicate.

My Lord of Atholl is here present, and whether he shal be borne withal, or no, I know not. But I gesse the Regent will refer that matter to the Commissioners, which are appoynted for execution of the act.

My Lord Duke sent me this inclosed of late by Mr. James

Hamilton, whose credit was that I wold deale for the restytution of Pasley and Arbroth, which I have done accordingly, and have this answer, that Arbroth shall be delivered by George Douglas into the Regent's hands, and Pasley. Th'erle of Argile is appoynted Lieutenant, to perforce, in case my Lord Semple relent not, who hathe stood all the charges and the last open payne of treason. That being done, and her Majestie's advise sent to the Regent, touching my Lord of Huntley and the Duke's sonnes, I see nothing but a good and perfect peace in this contrye.

Now, if it shall please her Majestie to do anything touching the League, or to confirme the devotion of these men with some pensions,* before the French shall have time to prac-

* The following extract of a letter from Killingrew to Burghley, dated March 14, of this year, will illustrate this passage about pensions. (MS. Cotton, Calig. c. iv. fol. 33.)

"Touching the pensions, there be these men to be considered of; the Regent, th'Erles of Huntley and Argile, the Lord Boyd, who is able to keepe Argile in tune and beareth a great stroke in the west, Sir James Balfoure, and Alexander Hay. The sum to content them, and to keepe them and this country at her Majestie's devotion is, after my calculation, 1200*l.* sterling by the yeare; whereof 500*l.* for the Regent, 200*l.* for Huntley, 200*l.* for Argyle, 100*l.* for the Lord Boyd, and 100 for Adam Gordon, whom I forgot before; the other 100*l.* between Sir James Balfoure and Sandy Hay, to witt, 100 marks sterling to Sir James, (who would in my poore judgement deserve the same,) and the 50 marks to th'other, who also will deserve no less. As for the Castilians, I can say nothing. If her Majestie will bestow but a 1000*l.* sterling, then Adam of Gordon, Sir James Balfour, and Hay, must be left out. I have felt my Lord of Argyle, who will accept 200*l.* of her Majestie, if it shall please her to bestow it, and yet I am sure he may have 2000 crownes of France at this present, and Huntley, Atholl, and others as much. Yea, I knowe the Regent himself hath beene dealt with, even by my Lord Seton. But if her Majestie will take the time, and th'occasion, I am sure France shall fayle of their purpose, contrary, unles they may see her Majestie constant, and to run a good course for herself and her neighbours, I doubt me the Regent will not wade too farre. What he may do for his parte, he doth offer at this time. It lyeth therefore in her Majestie to make her choyse, wherein I most

tise with them. I beseech your Honor to lett me know her Highnes' pleasure, and to be a meane for my revocation, which now, being sent upon so short warning, as that I was not able to go to myne owne house, but came from Woodstock hither, where I have remayned well near a year, and then crave the same most humbly at her Majestie's hands.

Archibald Douglas, of the Generalle's old acquayntance, was taken out of the Castle of Dombrytayne, and given the Generall at his request. There were found in the castle 300 masse, which some call hosts, with masse-books, vestments, and such lyke.

The Generall stayeth here to know her Majestie's pleasure touching the usage of the prisoners, who still be so odious to the Regent, and the most and best persons, that if they be not executed, at least the chiefest of them, I, for my part, must thinke and say that it will greatly hynder her Majestie's service, and the great love she hath won in th'expugnation of this castle, which was but their den.

My Lord Regent is even now going to Sterling, to my Lord of Angus's marriage, where I am bydden and do go with his Grace, and shall advertyse further by my next, having also at this tyme sent some advises to Mr. Secretary. God preserve you Honor. From Edenbourgh, this 13th of Juyn.

By your good Lordship's most bounden,

H. KYLLYGREW.

THE EARL OF ESSEX TO LORD BURGHELEY.

May it please your Lordship, yesterdaye I was at the courte, and dyd take my leave of her Majestie: she hath signed all my books, and I am departed from her Majestie

humbly beseech the Lord God to assist her Majestie with his Holy Spirite, and to directe all your Honor's counsellis."

with verie good words, and promise of her favour and furtherance to this enterprise.* Upon the taking of my leave, she told me, that she had two special things to advise me of. The one was, that I should have consideration of the Irishe there, which she thought had become her disobedient subjects rather because they have not bene defended from the force of the Scotts, then for any other cause. Her Majestie's opynion was, that upon my coming they wold yield themselves good subjects, and therefore wished them to be well used. To this, my Lord, I answered, that I determyned to deale so with them, as I should fynd beste for her service, when I come there. And for the presente I could not saye what is beste to be done; but this her Majestie should be sure of, that I would not imbrue my hands with more blood than the necessitie of the cause requireth. The other speciall matter was, that I should not seeke too hastily to bring people that hath bene trayned in another religion, from that which they have bene brought up in. To this I answered, that for the present I thought it was best to learne them to know their alliegence to her Majestie, and to yield her their due obedience. And after they had learned that, they wold be dayly brought to be of good religion. Muche more speeches besides passed betwene her Majestie and me, which were of no great importance, and therefore I wryte them not to your Lordship. I did once or twise move your Lordship for my cousen Fetzgarrett's going over with me; I think it will stand me in great steade. I beseche your Lordship to procure him her Majestie's lycense, and that with as much spede as your Lordship convenientlie maye. I am, my Lord, departed from the court with many good and fayre promises of divers; but of the performance of them I knowe not what assurance I may make. I repose my onlie truste uppon your Lordshippe. Your honourable dealing with me bothe in this and at all tymes before, hath bene suche as hath bound me over to

* His expedition to Ireland, which he had undertaken partly at his own risk.

be at your Lordship's commandement. And so I rest, and humbly take my leave of your Lordship.

From Duresme house, this 20th of Julie, 1573.

At your Lordship's commandement,

W. ESSEX.

DR. WILSON* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Maye it please your Honor, I have spoken with the Portugale ambassador this morning, who is verie desirous of a speedie ende for intercourse and amitie.† And touching the article where Barbarie is to be left oute, and no mention to be made thereof, he liketh wel of that, and desireth it earnestlie, but on the other hand he would not have the prohibition to be for Guynee by name, but the general words to passe, of *Conquestus Regis Portugalliæ*, and so the prohibition to be general, without mention of Guinee or Barbarie. And yet he saith, that notwithstanding this general prohibition, his Kinge will never clayme to forbid any to trade to Barbarie. He desireth earnestlie to speake with your Honor, and sayth so

* Thomas Wilson, LL.D. was a Lincolnshire man, and had been educated at King's College, Cambridge. He had been tutor in the University to two Dukes of Suffolk, Henry and Charles Brandon. He died in 1581.

† Ever since the year 1552, the English merchants had carried on a lucrative trade for gold with the negroes of Guinea and likewise upon the Barbary coast, which caused some differences between the English and Portuguese; the latter, as first discoverers of those coasts, doing all they could by force and armes to hinder them, and by degrees the two countries were in a state of mutual hostilities, without any declaration of war. Sebastian, King of Portugal, sent Gerard, his ambassador, in 1571, to procure a peace with the Queen, which at last was effected, and Dr. Wilson was employed in the negotiation. One of the articles demanded was that the Queen, to gratify the King of Portugal, should prohibit her subjects making any voyages to the seas and lands of the conquests of Portugal.

wel of your honorable dealings in this matter, as I was right glad to heare. I wolde not aske a copie of the same treatie, because I knewe Mr. Benedick Spinola hath the same, which your Honor may have at commandement.

I have read the Frenche treatise,* but I have not seen the same in Englishe, whiche if I might see, I would be right gladde, the rather to answer their lewd raylings. Buchanan (as I am informed) doth mynde to answer the Frenche booke, whiche I do wishe were seen in England, before it were published. Thus most humblie I do take my leave, wyshing unto your Honor your healthe and harte's desire. The 20th of Julie, 1573.

Your Honor's assured at commandement,

THOMAS WILSON.

DR. WILSON TO LORD BURGHLEY.†

May it please your Honor, I receaved your letter at the mercers' feast, the contents whereof toucheth the trade to Barbarie. I did open to my Lorde Maior, Sir Rowlande Heyworde, the governor, and to two others, who all agreed that the voyage to Barbarie is so necessarie, as it were better to be forbidden Portugale, and therefore they desired me to be an humble meane to your Honor, that no suche accorde should passe as to hynder them that voyage, because of their greate vent they have for clothes and other merchandizes, muche apte for this nation's speedie utterance.

I went, after this conference, to the Portugale ambassador, unto whom I did my message, and shewed her Majestie's full

* A libellous tract which had just been put forth in France, entitled *A Discovery of Treason*, reflecting severely upon Elizabeth's ministers. The Queen put out a proclamation against it.

† Superscribed, "At the Courte at Knowle delyver these." The Queen was on a progress in Surrey and Kent, a detailed account of which is given in Nares' *Life of Burghley*.

resolution not to forbidde her subjects the trade unto Barbarie, neither directlie nor yet indirectlie. He answered according to his old manner, that Barbarie should not be named at all. Unto whom I replied, that the worde *conquestus* did by implication and generalitie, make an universal prohibition. I told hym if he would desire to have Guinea forbydden, he might fynd her Majestie not unwilling to pleasure the King his master. But of this talke, he could not abyde to heare, ever iterating a general prohibition; which I did as fast mislyke, as he did vehementlie urge. He notwithstanding, mayntayning styl his wrasteling, would not leave holde, but importuned this his desire most earnestlie, with promise that his Kinge should never lette¹ our navy trade into Barbarie. And this assurance he made thereof, that like as his Kinge and auncestors did never send any armada to empeache this voyage, so would he never hereafter. I tolde hym that he had good advantage to deale agaynst England, when her Majestie shoulde passe her consent to the prohibition under her greate seale, and the Kinge onlie to promyse not to deale upon the worde of his ambassador. In conclusion, he told me he coulde not do otherwise, and gladlie he would be the author of a perpetuall peace, if it were possible, and so desiring to speak with her Majestie, I told hym that he might come to the courte, the fourth of August, wherof your Honor would sende unto hym advertisement.

Touching the viperouse booke, I will sende the same to your Honor about th'ende of the weeke.

And thus most humbly do I take my leave. From my howse, the 27th of Julie, 1573.

Your Honor's most humble at commandement,

THOMAS WILSON.

¹ Hinder.

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My good Lorde, I have most hartely to thank your Lordshippe for your letters, and the occurrentes which you sent me of the Frenche affayres, wherof here were strange reportes and dyvers, as men were affected. I am gladde to heare your Lordshippe hathe some lybertye to refresh yourselfe abroad. If, as is reported, that your Lordshippe cometh to Stanforde, I wolde I myght conveniently see your Lordship there, as I have good wylle to do. If your Lordshippe come to see your house at Lyddyngton, the forrest of Leefelde is not farre of, where I trust your Lordshippe wylle take your pleasure as largely, as I have authorite to graunte, and shall best please yourselfe, and so I hartely pray your Lordshippe to do. If I had any better thyng to offer, your Lordshippe shoulde commande it.

For the state of these north parts, I thanke God for it, I see no cause at present to certify your Lordshippe other than well of it. No; that which hathe bene so lately done at Edenburgh hathe set a good staye, and if it be followed in such sorte as your Lordshippe knoweth is meete, with the bestowing of some few pensions, etc., it wylle, I hope, in tyme, breake the necke of all possible practyses, and so shall our good Soverayne manye more yeares yet to come, by the grace of God, to the comforte of all her good subjectes, and many good Christianes, raigne over us, and rule thys realme in godly peace, as hytherto her Hyghnes hathe done, which God graunte, to whose merciful tuition I commyt your Lordshippe, and so for thys tyme take my leave. Yorke, thys 5th of Julye, 1573.

Your Lordshippe's assured to use.

H. HUNTYNGDON.

CAPTAIN COCKBURNE* TO MR. KILLIGREW.

Sir, that morning I departed out of Irboyse, I disjoyned in Waltunne with your servantes, and after dinner came to Sir Walter Mildmay, who took well with me. On the morne at night I came to York, whereas the Lord President looked the date of my letters, thairefter sperit² my age, and mer-vayled. I departed from York at nine houres in the morning, and supt with the Deane of Durham, and lay that night in Newcastell. On the morne I came to Sir John Forrester, who tooke well with me, and treated me well, and made me good cheare. It appeared to me that he read not your letter, by reason he was playing at the tables. I came that night to Barwick. The Treasurer treated me well, and very well. On the morne I passed by Coldinghame, and he was away. Thairefter to Coldinghame (?); he and his wife were both away. I came by Cherkington, and supped at Ormiston: the Lord and Lady have them commended to you. I delivered your tokens to her, &c.

I finde his Grace and all that favours God and the King and Quene's Majestie of England wisheth you to be here agayne. The ministers longes for you, and have them all commended to you, and wisheth to see you soone here. You have hearde of Capten Robinson's good successe in his firste coming. There is good numbers to follow, and imbarked dayly, such as Capten Adamson, Capten Campbell, Capten Ogibing, Capten Edmonston, Capten Montgomery. Robert Montgomery, servant to the Regent, passes directed from my Lord of Cathcart, the Master of Glamys, and many other young noblemen, to knowe the estate, and to returne with speede. In the meantyme all these good fellowes waytes on the winde, and dreames on Spanyearts and Vallonis

* This is the person on whom George Buchanan, in a former letter p. 428, was so facetious.

¹ Morrow.

² Asked.

with many others, Captens. The Lord Seaton is excommunicate, the Lord Sempill is here in courte. The Erle of Argill marrieth th'Erle of Glencarne's daughter shortly. The Erle of Huntley's brother, Adam Gordon, is sayled to France; the Papists hopes that he shall stirre up some stimpe stampe, but the good Regent here is ever the longer the better loved. On the last day of Julye, John Drury preached in St. Giles' Church afore the Regent; he forgot not to recommend the folkes he knewe, and so like the King of France and the Quene his mother. Even nowe it is given me to understande that there is a little booke sette out of their innocence; I have not seene it, if it be of effect I think it wil be thought that the Regent and he hath done them great wrong. But it appears to me that my Lord Regent's Grace hath the better end of the staffe, and you too. It is given me to understand that there is a younge woman who hath a barne of late to the Lord of Grange, and that he hath yesterday written a love-letter to her, and the bearer is taken.

All this is deciphered. Therefore ye shall not be put to paines. August 1, 1573.

SR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHELY.

My very good Lord. I moved the Quene's Majestie yesternight, as sone as I came to the courte, touching the advertisement of the Vidame. Her Majestie thynketh, that neither it is possible nor likely for the French to attempt any thing now, they be so well occupied otherwise, and it were so unprofitable for themself now to provoke displeasure of their neighbors. I perceive her Highnes is *multum securo*; yet she lyketh well the sending away of the man into France, and not much mislyketh the sending of some bark or pynness to discover. Her Majestie taketh heavily the hurting of

Hawkyns,* and sent her own surgeons to hym, and Mr. Gorge to visite and comforte hym. It will sone appeare whether he can escape or no. Neither her Majestie, nor allmost any one here, can thynke otherwyse, but that there is some conspiracie for that murder, and that Burchet is not indeede mad. It is said here that divers tymes, within this fortnight, both by words and writings Mr. Haddon† hath bene admonished to take hede to hymself; for his life was laide in waite for. Mr. Garret told me that he hath bene with one or two gentlemen that came out of the west countrey to London with Burchet, who declareth, that he had many phantasticall speeches and doings, wherby they might perceive that he was not well in his witts all the whole journey hitherwards.‡

I have sent your Lordship a letter of Sir Valentine Browne.§ I perceave all is there well and in quyet, but he writes me nothing of Hume or Faulx castles, whereof I marvell

* A religious enthusiast, named Peter Birchet or Burchet, had stabbed the great navigator in the street, supposing him to be Sir Christopher Hatton. The Queen was so enraged, that she would have had him executed immediately by martial law, but the Earl of Sussex showed her that it was contrary to the laws of the country. When Birchet was committed to the Tower, he killed his keeper with a billet that lay in the prison. He was hanged.

Sir John Hawkins was born at Plymouth, and had been bred to the sea from his childhood. He was one of the first Englishmen who traded to Guinea, and by his voyages laid the foundation of the slave-trade. He was appointed Treasurer of the Navy this year.

† Sir Christopher Hatton, now the great favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards made Lord Chancellor. According to Fuller, he was born in Holdenby in Northamptonshire, and died in 1591. Naunton calls him "a meer vegetable of the court, that sprang up at night and sank again at noon." Burchet imagined that he and some others of the court were enemies to religion.

‡ The long and curious deposition of these gentlemen is preserved in MS. Lansdowne, No, 16, article 84.

§ Who seems at this time to have been acting as ambassador in Scotland.

if Coborne have bene there. Thus I commit your Lordship to Allmighty God, the 15th of October, 1573.

Your Lordship's at commandement,

T. SMITH.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Sir, this mornynge came the warden of the printers, Harrison, and brought me one other boke in quyers, and told me that one Asplyn, a printer to Cartwrighte's boke, was after examination suffered agayn to go abrode, and taken into service into Mr. Daye's house, and purposed to kyl hym and his wyfe, &c., and being asked what he meant, he answered, "the spyryte moved hym," so that they be al taken and in prison, as he tolde me. Syns I sent to your Lordship this messenger, this he told me.

I cannot yet learne that the boke is newe printed syns Quene Mary's dayes, but I have set this Harrison and other a-worke to searche out more.

Thus God preserve your Honor. This 13th of November.

Your Lordship's in Christ,

MATTH. CANT.

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Right Honorable, the woman of Cananæa, thorough her muche importunitie, obtained for her daughter deliverie from a troublesome spirit. The grief that groweth towards me by a troublesome spirit, causeth me to be a more importune suter to your Lordship for my deliverie from such a devilishe spirit,* as my house is possest withall. I pray your Lord-

* This 'devilish spirit' was the Bishop of Ross, who had been committed to the custody of the Bishop of Winchester.

ship, therefore, helpe me, that this devill were ridde out of my house. My trust is, that your Lordship will have me in remembrance, and I shall not forgett in my prayers to the Almighty, to beseche him hartily to defend and deliver you from the malicious practises of all your spiritish foes. At my howse, in the Chirk in Southwerk, 14th Nov.

Your Lordship's ever to commande in Christ,

ROB. WINTON.

DR. DALE TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My good Lord, this contrey at this presente is wholly to settle anew. The King of Polonia* hath carried away all their mony that they can make, and many of their men of service, and some had away of purpose, as the Prince of Condé, and the Mareschall de Retz.

The Quene-mother is not yet returned from her son of Polonia. The King hath bene sick, and is yet but very weake, and is gone to La Fere en Picardie, to take his pastyme. The councellers do attend their owne busines. The whole realme doth murmur to have an assemblie of the states. The Protestants are very busie aboute Avignon. The Pope desireth to have passage for 3000 men for the garrison of that towne; the King will graunt him none hitherto. In Languedoc, Poictou, and Painctoinge, they do what they list, and who shall have the gouvernement under the King, no man knoweth, neither is it knowne how the King of Polonia shall passe through Germany, yet surely there is provysion made in the contrey from place to place, for his conduct very honorably.

The best thing the French have, is that they are in so good amitie with the Quene's Majestie, and their neighbours busied otherwise, and therefore they do make the more ac-

* The Duke of Anjou, who had been elected King of Poland.

compt of her Majestie. I do not trouble your Lordship with the particulars there, and other occurrents here, at this presente, because Mr. Randolph dothe retourne, who can declare unto your Lordship particularly what he hath found. And so I take my leave moste humbly of your good Lordship. From Paris, the 8th of Decembre, 1573.

Your Lordship's most humble,

VALENTYNE DALE.

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My dewtie unto your honourable Lordship premised, I am ryght hartelie glad to understand of your Lordship's good recovery and amendment, so do I in like manner wysh and pray for the perfectness of your health. I am advertised by the Busshop of Rosse,* that he hath prepared his things for the most parte in readines for to depart, and now chiefly staieth upon your honorable order, being willing to take his journey, as I am no less desirous to be dischargd of him. Wherefore I beseech your honorable Lordship's favour, as well for his speedie dispatche, as also that I may have the Quene's Majestie's warrant now for my dischargd in the deliverie of him, as I had the same at his coming to me, about the which I woulde at this tyme have attended upon your Lordship myself, as dewtie moveth, but that I am so presentlie troubled with a murr, as I cannot come out of my chamber without great danger. And so, praying for your honorable Lordship alwaies, I humblie take my leave. From my house in Southwerk, the 15th daie of December, 1573.

Your honorable Lordship's humblie to recommande,

ROB. WINTON.

* Who was delivered out of prison, and sent out of the kingdom. He went to France, where he soon engaged himself as deeply as ever in political intrigues.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, fearing your Lordship's disquiet, I did forbear yesterday to take my leave of your Lordship at my coming from London. I would be right glad to see your Lordship here at the court in perfect helthe shortlye, and many good men that do honor and love you, would rejoyce therat also, and if there be any that wyshe the contrarie, you must forgyve them, but in no wyse to satisfye the humor of suche.

Her Majestie hath lately sayde that in no wyse she will allowe my Lord of Essex * should be Deputie of Ireland, because she wolde have no man that hathe land of inheritance there to be Deputie: and yet all men outwardly doth seem to favor my Lord of Essex and his enterprise. But surely I feare, if her Majestie woll neyther make hym Deputie, nor yet take the charge of that enterprise into her own handes, and so lett my Lord of Essex be but an adventurer according to his own offer in that behalfe, then I saye I feare that my Lord of Essex wol be undone, to her Majestie's great dishonor and to her danger.

Sir Henry Sydney, I heare, is labored to be made Deputie. God send hym temperance of diete, if he be allotted thereunto.

Your Lordship doth remember that the last starr chamber daye, it pleased you and my Lord of Leicester, and the two Chief Justices, to be chosen arbiters betweene Thomas Wynkfelde and Nicholas Daryngton, and now my Lord of Leycester doth offer to come any daye the nexte weke to your Lordship's howse, to heare and ende that matter, wherefore I beseeche your Lordship to appoynt the daye. In the mean tyme thys bearer is to showe or to leave with your Lordship

* The Earl of Essex was son-in-law to Sir Francis Knollys, having married his daughter Lettice.

the wrytings for the intayle, and also our statute, &c. 24th of January, 1573.

Your Lordship's to command,

F. KNOLLYS.

Postscript.—I perceyve by Mr. Walsingham, that her Majestie hathe nowe signed warrants for levying of 400 soldiers, and for 4000 pounds, to be sent to my Lord of Essex.

THE BISHOP OF ELY TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, I trust it be not true, that your Lordship should conceive of me that I am riche and have great heapes of money lying by me, for I compte that state to be miserable and synfull, especially in this nedy and beggarly tyme, and also our fennes, loodes, dykes, and banckes, being almost in all places so sore decayed. I meant not to trouble you with discoursing of my state, which partly I have done to my Lorde of Canterbury, *qui nuper erat in simili seductione*. I am loathe to utter my bare condition, but I dare protest, *coram domino in conscientia bona*, that my summe is well under a thousande poundes, as I am able easily to declare. *Ora obloquentia Deus veritatis vindex obstruere dignetur*. I wish rather an hundred others to take their pleasures, than your Lordship conceive any thing amisse of me, and otherwise then truly will beare; and therefore I thought good to signify thus muche unto your good Lordship, as to my dearest frende on earthe. *Dominus Jesus te nobis diutissime servet incolumem*. From my house at Downham, the 28th daye of Aprill, 1574.

Your Lordship's assured,

RICHARDE ELY.

SIR H. KILLIGREW TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

Since my laste unto you I have bene at Sterling to visit the King in her Majestie's name, and met by the way the Countess of Marr, coming to Edenbourghe, unto whom I did her Majestie's commendations.

The King seemed to be very glad to heare from her Majestie, and could use prety speeches, as how much he was bound unto her Majestie, yea, more than to his owne mother. And at my departure he prayed me to thank her Majestie for the good remembrance she had of him, and farther desired me to make his hartie commendations unto her Majestie. His Grace is well growne, both in body and spirit, since I was last here. He speaketh the French tongue marvaillous well, and that which seemed strange to me, he was able extempore, which he did before me, to reade a chapitre of the Bible out of Latin into French, and out of French after into English, so well as few men could have added any thing to his translation. His scholemasters, Mr. George Buchanan and Mr. Peter Yong, rare men, caused me to appoint the King what chapter I would, and so did I, whereby I perceyved it was not studied for. They also made his Highnes dance before me, which he likewise did with a very good grace.

A prince sure of great hope, if God send him life. I used as good complements as I could with the Master of Erskyn and his wife, the scholemasters and others declaring what care her Majestie had of the King's well doing, and how thankfull their dilligent service; that their owne lyves were no dearer unto them then his Highnes' prosperity, and prayed God to lend him life, that he might shew himself thankfull for her Majestie's greate benefits bestowed upon his Grace. And this was all I did at Sterling, whence being returned to this towne, I found the Regent not yet come back from Dugles Dale, nor loked for yet these two or three days, and there-

fore I have no farther to advertise then I did in my former letters.

I cannot learne of any practise to transport the King into France ; but there is a sister of my Lord Levingston's about the King, much suspected to be French, and the King's scholemasters are desirous to have him from the handling of women, by whom he is guyded and kept, saving when he goeth to his booke.

Whilest I was there, newes came that th'Erle of Glyncarne's daughter, Countess of Argyle, was brought to bed of a dead sonne, and in great danger of her lyfe.

In my returne from Sterling, I met with Robert Melvin, who desired me to yield his most humble thanks unto her Majestie for saving of his life. I see him so gratefull and willing to do her Majestie service, as I think favour well bestowed upon him, and therefore I pray you move her Majestie's name for the full pardoning of Melvile, who is yet prisoner in his own house, and under caution of ten thousand marks of this country, and hath no pardon, but may be executed as a contempned man to-morrow next. I finde, as I sayd before, the man so willing to do her Majestie any manner of service he may, as I am the more earnest to press your honour by this few lynes to remember him to her Majestie. I have also wrytten to my Lord of Leicester, touching the Countesse of Argyle's sute, which she desired might be delivered to her Majestie, by his Lordship's favorable meanes, and in my poore judgment, her Majestie shall do well to write her letter to the Regent's Grace in her favour and her husband's, who is a godly nobleman, and one that will be thankfull to her Majestie. This with the first occasion wold be remembered, and I withall commanded to follow the matter to an end.

For occurrents I have learned none since my last, but the rest of the pyrates that were taken at Montrose were brought this day to this towne, and are shortly to be brought to tryall of law.

The Duke's two sonnes, my Lord John and my Lord

Claude, have written to welcome me into this country, and sent me a kinsman of theirs to solicit some of their causes depending upon the pacifications at St. Johnstons which I shall accomplish.

By a Scottishman come lately out of Poole,¹ I understand that the King was very sickly, and so strately watched as he could not possibly steale away, having not above thirty Frenchmen in all left with him. This man was with the King himself to make offer of the Scottishmen's service that since were slayne in Sweden, whom the King wold faine have retayned, but the Poles wold none of them.

The Erle of Huntley is looked for to be here on Saturday next, with whom I shall then conferr, and wryte likewise unto the Duke and his sonnes of her Majesty's good favour towards them in all their just causes, whereof they have already tasted. And thusabyding the Regent's coming, I take my leave for this tyme, committing your Honour to the Almightye.

From Edinborough, the laste of June, 1574.

By your Honour's assured to command,

H. KYLLYGREW.

DR. DALE TO SIR THOMAS SMITH AND SIR FRANCIS
WALSINGHAM.

It may please you to advertise the Quene's Majesty that Aigremont Radely² arrived of late at Paris, and sent me a letter, that he had to speak with me for her Majestie's service. At his coming, he told me he had left the King of Spain's entertainment, and that both he and my Lord Morley are at utter defiance with Stukeley to that effect.

He saith his coming into this country is to make his sute for the Quene's Majestie's grace, and he is sorry for his offence.

Item, that the King of Spain doth seek to entertain as

¹ Poland.

² Egremont Radclyff.

many of the Quene's Majesty's subjects, as he may, to make an attempt against her Majesty.

Item, that my Lord Morley and my Lord of Westmoreland and himself wold never consent to any such matter, and therefore they are not in credit with the King of Spaine. Notwithstanding my Lord of Westmoreland hath an hundred crowns a month assigned unto him by the King of Spaine.

Item, that if my Lord of Westmoreland wold have given his consent, that there had bene somewhat attempted at this time.

Item, the King of Spaine's navy, which is in Biscay, is appointed towards Flanders, they in Galicia towards Ireland, and the rest either towards England or Scotland. Howbeit, he said, they could not be ready before September.

Item, that Cotton is appointed to be Stukeley's Lievetenant for the voyage. He said he had to pass into Flanders to my Lord of Westmoreland, wherein I did dissuade him, but since I heard not from him, saving that he sent me word that he had received a letter from my Lord Morley that he must nedes go to my Lord of Westmoreland.

Upon the 4th of this present, the Quene-mother sent for me to speak with her, and at my coming, she said that she had word from Calais and Bologne, that the Quene's Majesty's navy was abroad, as they thought, to attempt somewhat against this realme, which she thought strange, being upon the sudden without any signification therof before, since that she for her part hath been always so ready to entertayn the amity with the Quene's Majesty; and therefore, she said, she sent for me to understand the truth.

I answered, that I did understand of no such matter, and that I did suppose the Quene's Majesty's navy was not yet abroad : and as I learned, she was advertised so likewise by a man of M. de la Mothe's, which was then arrived, where-with she was well comforted, for she seemed to be much moved with this news.

She declared unto me likewise, that the King was arrived at Vienna* the 25th of June, and that the Emperor went to mete him, and by this time she made her account, he should be at Venice. Indeed, there arrived a courier the night before from the King, and it is published divers ways, that the King was come to Vienna at the coming of that post, and it is commonly reported, he came away by stealth with nine horses, whereof three were Polonois, and was followed by the Polonois, but could not be overtaken.

I have learned that immediately upon the death of the King, the Quene-mother despatched a post to the Turk, desiring him to assist the King of Polonia against the Polonois if they should stay him; and also to stay the renewing of the peace with the Emperor, untill it might appear, whether the Emperor would give the King of Polonia passage.

The King doth prepare for two ways from Venice, the one by the Grisons, the other by galleys to Ancona, and to pass over Italy to Ligorno, and from thence by galley to Marseilles. There is order given for the levying of two thousand Italians either to conduct the King through Italy, or to serve in Languedoc, wherein the Protestants at this time are very strong.

Schomberg is gone into Germany with commission to spare no money to stay the roisters that are appointed for the Prince of Condé, if it may be.

The Swissers that are levied for the King of Spain do march alreedy towards the Low Countries. It is said that the Protestants upon the frontiers of Champagne have given an overthrowe to certain companies of the Duke of Guise.

Item, that Monsieur de la Noue doth marche strongly towards the river of Loire, and hath given an overthrowe unto certain bands of horsemen in his way.

Montgomery† was racked, to have gotten matter out of

* On the death of Charles IX., May 30, 1574, the King of Poland became King of France, and was now on his return.

† He had lately been taken prisoner by the Catholics.

him, whether the Quene's Majesty or M. le Duc were privy to his enterprise, but he was very constant, as well therin, as in his religion, neither wold he by any means be induced to yield to any superstition, and was very much pitied.

There hath been much talk of certain capitulations for the rendering of Quarantan, but it is not yet rendered as far as can be knowne.

The Pope hath sent him that was last resident here to condole, who hath withall other secret matter to deal in; it is doubted, least it be touching their league.

There is one Godolphin that calleth himself of the chamber of Monsieur, which beginneth to be a meddler, and saith he is one of them that are named to come in message to the Quene's Majesty, to have her Majesty's determination towards this country, and that Mauvissiere is one other that is named.

There passed a post this way from Spaine to Flanders within these two days, with letters that the fleet of the King of Spaine is ready and doth tarry but the wind.

There is a secret muttering that the King is staid at Vienna, partly at the suit of the Polonois, and partly of them of the Empire, for the restitution of Metz, and other towns imperial; and certain it is, that he had no safe conduct of the Emperor. And thus I take my leave, with my due commendations.

From Paris, the 7th of July, 1574.

Yours, &c.

VALEN. DALE.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord, I thank your Lordship for your letters of the 16th, which I received yesternight very late, whose advyse in all poyntes shall be followed as nere as they can be obteyned. The summary of the occurrents out of France

is the arraying of the King of Polonia at Vienne. The report adds that th'Emperor sent honorable companye to mete hym, and receive hym accordyngly.

Egremond Rateclyf's talk I take to be of small moment or truthe, and the suspicion to be vayne that the French King should be deteyned in Vienna untyll he render Metz, Tul, and Verdun. He hath a pledge in France, th'Emperor's daughter, and two good solicitors, the Pope and the Turk, for his deliverance home.

As for the navy,* I am of your Lordship's opinion that by delays and irresolution, we have good cause to feare that this yeare it shall do little good. In those two poynts it standeth at this houre.

Of my Lord of Oxford,† for my part I can as yet learne no certayntie; but it is commonly said, that he arrived at Calais, and was there very honorably received and enter-teyned, and from thence he went into Flanders. As far as I can yet perceive, her Majestie's grief for hym, or towards hym, is somewhat mitigated. But I wyll do what I can convenyently to understand more of her Highnes' advertisements and mynd in this case. And so I most hartely commit your Lordship to Almighty God.

From Richmond, the 13th of July, 1574.

Your Lordship's allwais at commandement,

T. SMITH.

* Which was to have been sent out to attempt the Spanish fleet in its return from the West Indies.

† Who, without leave of the Quene, or knowledge of his friends, upon some discontent, had withdrawn himself, to the particular trouble of the Lord Treasurer, his father-in-law, because it was said that he was gone to join the English refugees.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, what Mendoza bringeth is yet unknown, but men of judgement think that the chiefe end of his coming is to entertayne us with Spanishe compliments, to lull us asleepe for a tyme, untill ther secret practyses be growen to their newe and full rapeness.

Touching our sea preparations, we can neyther resolve one way nor other: and yet there is done what may be to presse her Majestie to resolution. These changes are bothe chargeable and dishonorable, which hath bene layde before her Majestie bothe playnly and dewtifully, but nothinge prevaileth.

By th'Ambassador resident in France your Lordship knoweth the common occurrents. The messenger, who is his Secretary, telleth me by mouthe, that the partyes you wrote of,* hearing that the navye stayeth, and that nothinge is done in Germanye to their favor and assistance, are muche dismayed withall, whereon they buylded muche, and therefore that hope removed, they thynke their case nowe desperate.

If they quayle, besyde the dishonour, the danger that is like to light on us is evydent. We seeke neither to conserve frendes, nor to provyde for withstanding our enemyes.

If this kind of government might carry continuance withall, then shoulde we have lesse cause to lament, but surely it is so loose, as in reason it cannot last. God be mercyfull unto us!

Touching my interest in Halyfeld, your Lordship shall understand, that sythence my cousin Coxe bought of my Lord Keeper his lease in reversion of the same, he hath bene in hand with me for my interest, which I have denied to departe withall as yet, promysing that if I shall departe withall, he shall have the refusall thereof; which

* The Protestants and the French Princes.

promise, if your Lordship can get my cosyn Cox to discharge me of, (whose interest in the lease in reversion were most convenient for your Lordship also to buy), your Lordship shall dyspose therof at suche price as you yourself can desyre and thinke reasonable. After I shall understande that your Lordship hath compounded with my sayd cosyn, I wyll give my brother Dodyngton commission to deale with your Lordship in that behalf. And so leaving further to trouble your Lordship, I most humbly take my leave. &c.

At Wyndsor, the 13th of Julye, 1574.

Your Lordship's to commande,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

SIR WALTER MILDMAY TO LORD BURGHELEY.

I humblie thanke you, my very good Lord, that it pleased you to bestow so large a letter uppon me of your hand, and therby to let me understand how thyngs passe above, and specially the King of Spaine's sending to entertayne assured amyty with her Majestie, which I will hope is so meant. And yet there is no dowbte but her Majestie's experience is such, as she seeth that necessitie is the cause of these fair speeches at thys tyme, and therefore her Majestie doeth well to provide for the worst, for surely your Lordship knoweth better then I, that longer than you be jealouse of their doings, longer you cannot be sure from hurt from them. The stay of the shippes is a good stay to your cofers. I pray God it prove as well for her Majestie's service and sauffety.

For the latter parte of your Lordship's letter, I do eftsones most hartelie thank you in that it pleased you to save me from so ill a jurney as I was nere. Surely, according to my most bounden dewty, I am and will be ready to serve her Majestie when and where she will command, but for my coming to London at thys tyme, your Lordship hath

answered sufficeable for her Majestie's service, and most frendely for me.

My coming home being so late, and the tyme of the year such as I am not the fittest to travayle in, therefore, my good Lord, I beseeche you contynew that mynd towards my stay here, as you have begunne: and I shall be bound to you for that, as I am already in many things, and be ready in that little I can do for you or any of yours, either here or in any other place: for so you have given me just cause, which I may never forget.

Of my Lord of Oxford's returne I am glad to heare. I trust this little journey will make him love home the better hereafter. It were great pytie he shold not go strayt, there be so many good things in hym, to serve God and his Prince.

I pray God send to your Lordship, and all yours, even as I wyshe to myn owne hart. And so praying to be commended to my good Lady, I end troubling your Lordship any further at this present.

From Apthorp, the 27th of July, 1574.

Your good Lordship's bounden to command,

WA. MILDMAY.

I hoped to have seen your Lordship here this sommer, and so I trust I may do yet.

THE EARL OF BEDFORD TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, having this daie advertisements from Plymouth, that intelligence is by a barke which yesterdaie arryved there brought, that the King of Spayne's navie is now ready to come to sea, staying only for a good wynd, I thought good hereby to signify the same to your Lordship, referring the circumstance thereof to my letters herewith sent to your Lordship and the rest in that behalf. Coming hyther into Cornwall, Sir John Arondell with others met me eight myles

from Plymouth, and in all this journey have accompanied me, going first to Fow and thence to Falmouth ; and whereas your Lordship with the rest had given order to Sir John for the viewing of those two castles there, so he hath done. And I have in lyke manner bene there, and do fynd that the plateforme of that in Mr. Killegrew's charge, is much decayed and almost unserviceable. And albeyt to serve this present tyme, he hath caused the same to be amended, yet can it not continue the service requyred. Therefor, consideration were very necessarie to be had therin. Lykewyse I have bene to the mounte, and returning thence have assembled the justices of peace, and declared to them her Majestie's pleasure in all thinges, whom, as well for Sir John Arondell as the rest, I find readie and serviceable in all thinges. According to the contents of that letter sent from your Lordship and the rest, I have sent two barkes to the sea to discerne this navie, but have heard nothyng of them. Other matter lykewise specified in that letter, I have given direction for, as appertayneth. Thus committing your Lordship to Godde's protection, I end.

From Truroe, this thyrde of August, 1574.

Your Lordship's assured,

F. BEDFORD.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Sir, I had rather you understood a truth by my reporte in suche matters wherin I am a doer, than by the uncertain speech of the courte. I have travailed muche by myself alone, for wante of other commissioners, to trie out a possession,* which was verie earnestly believed and sett forth ; and

* "I know not whether it be worth the labour," saith Camden, "to mention some small matters, as, the devout credulitie of certaine

by printe recorded and spreade without licence. The two printers wherof, with others that solde those pamphletts, were commytted to pryson; and if I had my will, I wolde commyt some of the principall witnesses to pryson to learne them hereafter not to abuse the Quene's Majestie's people so boldlie, falsely, and impudentlie. After I had by diverse examinations tryed out the falsehood, I requyred Sir Rowland Hayward and Mr. Recorder of the citie to be assistant with me, who heard the wenche examined and confessed and played her pranckes before them. We had the father and the mother, by which mother this wenche was counseiled and supported, and yet wold she not confesse anything. Whose stubbornnes we considering, sent her to close prison at Westminster-gate,* where she remayneth untill her daughter and another maide of Lothburie, have openlie done their penance at Paule's Crosse, as it is ordered. I am so grieved with such dissemblers, that I cannot be quiett with myself. I do intende, because these bookes are so spread abroad and believed, to set out a confutation of the same falsehood. The tragedie is so large, that I might spende much tyme to trouble your Honor withall. But brieffie I have sent to your Lordship a copie of the vaine book printed, and a copie of their confessions at length. And thus knowing your Lordship is at the court, I thought good to send to you, wishing her Majestie and all you wayting upon her a prosperous returne.†

From my howse at Lambeth, this Frydaie, the 13th of August.

Your Lordship's loving frend,

MATTHUE CANTUAR.

ministers of London, deluded this year by a maid which counterfeited herself to be possessed by the devil," &c.

* In the Gatehouse.

† The Queen made a progress to Bristol this year.

DR. DALE TO SIR THOMAS SMITH AND SIR FRANCIS
WALSINGHAM.

I advertised you by my last letters of the 2nd of this present of the entertainment of the King in Italy and Savoy, of his departure from Turin hitherwards, of the being of Monsieur d'Anville with the King, of the treaty for peace, with the articles of the same, (over sore for them of the religion, because the King will have the townes in his hande, and neither permit any exercise of religion, nor give any other assurance but his own wordes,) of the marching of the Swissers towards Noue, of the five hundred horsemen and four thousand footemen provided by the Duke of Savoy for the Kinge, of the discontentment of the Marshal de Retz for forgoing of his office in the King's chamber, of the liberty that the young princes have to go about this town at their pleasure, and of the estate of other thinges in this court, which I suppose you shall receive before the receipt of these presents.

Now it may please you to advertise the Quene's Majestie that since that tyme, I have bene with the Quene-mother, and have earnestly expostulated with her the late stay of our merchant's ships, and complained of certaine spoils that have bene done in the river Seine upon the Quene's Majestie's subjects, since the last release, which I obtained under the brode seal at Paris. I declared unto her also, how the sequel of the Quene's Majestie's doings, the demonstration of her Majestie's good-will by the late honorable funerals of the King, and all other her Majesty's actions, doth purge all those jealousies which have bene conceived without any cause or occasion, and what cause both her Majesty and her subjects have to mislike with those thinges, namely, since this court is so far from the sea-coast to give any redress. The Quene-mother answered, that she was desirous to redress any thing that was amiss, and denied that the last stay was made by her commandment, whereas she herself told me, that she had done it herself, and no less is expressed in the letters patents

of the release. She said she had been advertised from Monsieur de la Mothe, of the Quene's Majesty's good intention and honorable dealings, to the which her son wold use the like correspondency, who was to be here at Lyons by the 6th of this present. And withall she cast forthe, that she had heard that the Quene's Majesty and the King of Spaine were agreed; for it hath been advertised hither, that Mendoza had made up all for Spain. *Et qu'il n'y a fils de bonne mere en la cour d'Angleterre, qui ne soit bon Espagnol.*

I said the doings of Mendoza were but for the intercourse of merchants, which is the easier to be accorded by reason of their evil treatings in France. I was in hand also for Sir Arthur Champenon's matter, wherin if any good may be done (wherof I have little hope) it must be at the coming of the King. I wold have learned how long the King was like to have tarried in this town, to the intent the Quene's Majesty might thereafter appoynt for sending to the King, either hither or to Rheims. But I could learn nothing otherwise then of some long abode of the King here, and that he doth look to do all these offices before he doth depart this town.

Now further I have learned, that the Quene-mother hath a doubt of a league to be made betwene the Princes Protestants, and hath had privy advertisement of D. Wyre's instructions, but all her hope is *in celeritate*, for she maketh account to get Noue by the river of Roan, and also Possin upon the river, within this month; and so by force or composition to have all at commandement before any other stir; for they think to stay the doings of Monsieur de Thore with the Swissers.

The King shall lack the Marshal de Retz about these things, if he determine not to use him.

The worst thing that moveth them, for anything that I do see, is, that they can make no reckoning of Spain, and all those sums of money which should come from the Venetians and other in Italy, are turned to good cheer; *sed omnia ponunt in felicitate Regis*. I cannot hear that they of the religion

are anything dismayed for all this, for Montbran hath of very late taken Mur, a castle in Dauphiny of good strength, where the country had bestowed their victuals for their store, and Monsieur Montpensier's men have been beaten at Lusignan, *et sic illi vicissim ponunt in virtute, in quo si perseverent, necesse est bellum hoc trahi diutius*. For the country of Dauphiny, where they do first begin, is taken to be very strong by situation. The Quene-mother appointeth to go towards the King to meet him seven or eight leagues in the way, the 7th of this present. And thus I take my leave of you, with due commendations. From Lyons, the 5th of September, 1574. Yours, &c.

VALEN. DALE.

It is reported by some that Thore doth mete the King at Chambery; but the truth is not yet known.

DR. DALE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSLINGHAM.

Sir, I cannot but write unto you, how much the penning of my Lord North's* instructions, which you made, is to be liked. I will assure you I never saw a thing better done in all my lyfe; if it will please the Quene's Majesty to deal somewhat in dedes withall, it might work some good effect. I am much beholden unto you for your furtherance in my allowance, and I pray you *per amicitiam tuam* to be careful of me therin. I do begin to run deeply on the score already. I thank you very much for your advertisement touching our good Bishop here. I will be as ware of him as possibly I may; and so had men nede to be in all places. He hath presented a book to this King, with pestilent persuasions to take upon him the protection of the Scottish Quene, which book when you see *agnosces facile veteratorem*. My Lord North bringeth a copy with hym of it, who hath so charmed the

* Lord North was sent ambassador into France to congratulate the accession of the new King.

Bisshop since he came hither, that if he had care of his mistress' well doing, he wold forbear to danger both her and her cause, but he cannot but be like himself. At the latter end of our action, which we suppose will be within these two days, we shall be able to advertise you more perfectly of all things. In the meantime, I take my leave of you, with very great thanks. From Lyons, the 3rd of November, 1574.

Your's, &c.

VALEN. DALE.

SIR PHILIP SYDNEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Righte honorable and my singular good Lorde and unkle, although I have at this presente little matter worthy the writing unto your Lordeshippe, yet being newlie returned from my Polish journey, I would not omit anie ocasion of humbly performing this dutie ; wherefore I humblie beseeche your Lordeshippe to take these few lines in good parte which I wryte rather to continew that I owe unto you, then for any other thing they may containe in them. The Emperor, as I wrote laste unto your Lordeshippe, hathe these two yeeres continuallie pretended a journey to Prage, which, it is thoughte shall indeede be performed, to the greate contentation of that kingdome, which otherwise seemeth to bende to disobedience. There it is thought his son shall very shortly be Kinge, whom likewise the Emperor seekes by all meanes possible to advance to the kingdom of the Romaines, and for that purpose desyres to call an imperial Diett in Francfort, the place appointed for the elections ; but it is thought the electours will rather chose another for this nexte ensuing Diett, which is said shall be the sommer following at the furthest, and then there is no hope of election. Not being at Francfort, it is likely it shall be at Regenspurg, where I believe the Emperour will demand far greater summes of money then will be graunted unto him.

Though the peace betwixt the Turke and him is not as yet, as far as it is knowne, perfectlie concluded, yet it is thought the

Turke will rather procede by sea then this waie. And as the Frenche ambassador hathe written, meaning to visite the Pope's territorie, perchaunce his conscience moveth him to seeke the benefitt of the jubilé. I hope, as the Spaniardes allredy begin to speake lower, so the Pope's holinesse will have lesse leasure to ministre suche wicked and detestable counceills to the christian princes as hitherto he dothe. Out of Fraunce your Lordshippe hathe the advertisementes from the ambassador; the Prince of Condé is retired to Basill, where he liveth in companie with the admiral's children, being frustrate of a greate hope he had conceived of succour out of Germany, wherein many and wise men do impute greate faulte to the Prince Casimire, the Count Palatine's second son, in so much that to write to your Lordship plainely, he is heavily suspected to be corrupted by the Frenche. His father certainly is as vertuous a prince as liveth; but he suffereth himself too muche to be governed by that son. This I thought my duty to write, as having hearde it in very good place, and muche affectioned to the true cawse. The Polakes hartily repente their so far-fetched election, being now in suche case neither they have the Kinge, nor anythinge the Kinge with so many others had promised, besides that there is lately sturred up a very dangerous sedition, for the same cause that hathe bredde suche lamentable ruines in France and Flandres. Now there it is reasonably wel appeased, but it is thoughte it will remaine so but a while.

I have no other thinge worthy the writing at this presente to your Lordshippe, wherefore I humbly cease, with my dailie and moste boundne prayer, that it may please the Eternall to continew and encrease you in all prosperitie.

From Vienne, this 27th of Novembre, 1574.

Your Lordship's most deuitfull,

PHILIPPE SIDNEY.

THE END OF VOL. I.

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Wright, Thomas

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Queen Elizabeth and her
times.

